

# *NuclearTimes*

JANUARY • FEBRUARY 1987 \$4

## SOVIET REALISM



**GETTING BEYOND COLD WAR  
ATTITUDES IN AMERICA**



# BROOKINGS

## **Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy**

**Michael MccGwire**

The Soviets have shifted from a fatalistic belief in the inevitability of nuclear war to the belief that an all-out superpower nuclear confrontation is avoidable. In this well-reasoned study of Soviet military objectives, MccGwire describes the events leading up to the 1967-68 watershed in Soviet military doctrine and examines the consequences for various theaters of military action, for the Soviet military role in the third world, and for Soviet nuclear strategy and arms control policy.

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This comprehensive and detailed volume examines U.S. nuclear operations and command and control. The contributors, experienced in operations and C<sup>3</sup>I, discuss peacetime safety and control of nuclear weapons worldwide, the survival under nuclear attack of the reasonable command authorities presupposed by deterrence theory, and the means for terminating nuclear war before it escalates to all-out exchanges.

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In this book, Epstein argues that primary reliance on the threat of vertical or horizontal escalation would lack the credibility needed to deter large-scale Soviet aggression in the Persian Gulf. Epstein challenges the prevailing view that direct conventional defense is beyond America's reach. Through careful modeling, he shows how a U.S. rapid deployment force considerably smaller than that planned by the Reagan administration could defend successfully and deter credibly by exploiting key Soviet vulnerabilities in Iran.

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A principal challenge to America's volunteer military over the next decade is the possibility that military technology will outstrip the capabilities of the people the armed forces can expect to attract. This study examines the development of a mismatch between weapons and skills and discusses options for hedging against that prospect.

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**Raymond L. Garthoff**

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**1985/1147 pp./paper \$16.95/cloth \$39.95**

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# BROOKINGS



# Letters

## Marchin' Any More?

Our 87 West Michigan people bussed back from the magnificent Great Peace March arrival in Washington, D.C. on November 15 at 8 a.m. yesterday after two nights on the bus and two on the Takoma Park Presbyterian Church floor. But, arghh! The latest issue of NUCLEAR TIMES (Nov-Dec '86) has no pictures and only four inches on the Great Peace March? Et tu, Brutus? Please do several follow-ups to recognize the stupendous achievement of the largest single march for the largest single cause in U.S. history. Exploit a great peace-arousing event better than the commercial media has.

—Corinne Carey  
Grand Rapids, MI

## Whose "Life" Is it Anyhow?

We were pleased to see the art from our book *Save Life on Earth* in the November-December issue and liked the placement of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. works together. But despite claims of Elefanten Press, *Save Life* is not sponsored by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) but by artists. IPPNW has been a wonderful collaborator and show sponsor in many countries, but we're independent.

—Nyna Brael Polumbaum  
Cambridge, MA

## Balderdash

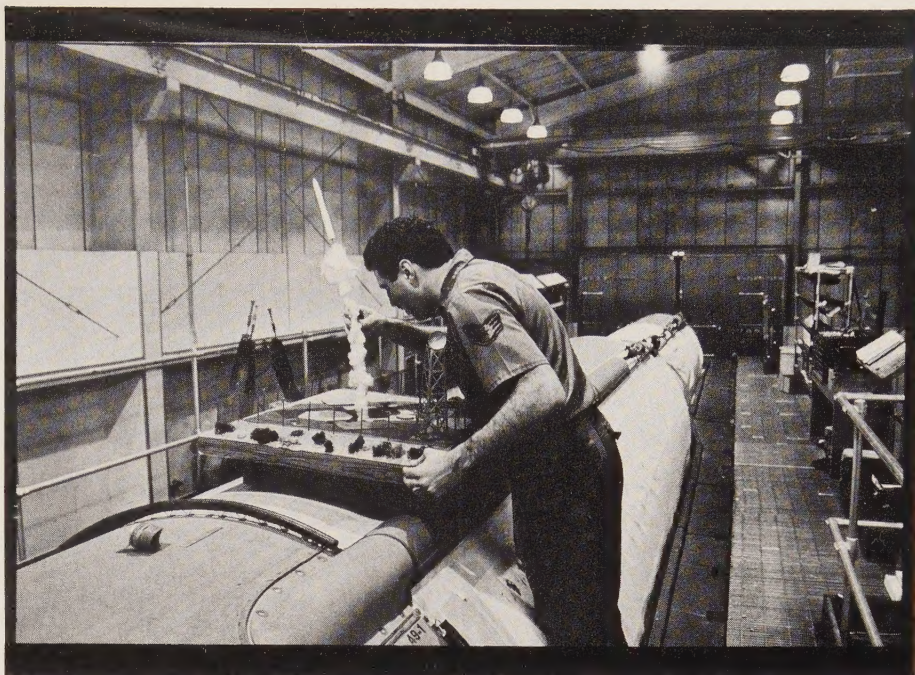
Recent issues of NUCLEAR TIMES are a far cry from the origins of the magazine and the movement it informs. Is this balderdash about "national security" a signal of maturity, as the pages of the magazine seem to indicate, or a signal that NUCLEAR TIMES has joined the Washington arms control bureaucrats in their clamor for a new antinuclear stance which is "acceptable" and "judicious"—euphemisms for a program which is nationalistic, compromising and surprisingly non-nuclear?

—Edward Danton  
Cedar Rapids, IA

## Short Subject

Thank you for the fine summation of *False Frontier* that you wrote for Resources in the November-December issue. However, the running time of the video is 11 minutes; I fear we will be getting a number of orders from customers expecting the 35 minutes you listed. Also, we offer a slideshow version to aid speakers before large groups.

—T.J. Latimer  
Union of Concerned Scientists  
Cambridge, MA



## VIEWS FROM THE NUCLEAR WORLD by Robert Del Tredici

"Whoops": Minuteman Processing Facility #1, Vandenberg Air Force Base, Lompoc, California. Technician with the 394th ICBM Test Maintenance Squadron inspects toy model of Minuteman missile in flight. Model rests on an actual Minuteman missile which has been taken out of a silo and brought to Vandenberg for testing and evaluation.

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## LETTER TO OUR READERS

The New Year holidays are a symbol of change and new beginnings. This new year, for NUCLEAR TIMES, marks a major turning point. We are closing our New York office and moving the editorial side of the magazine to Washington.

This issue is the last one to be produced by Greg Mitchell, Renata Rizzo-Harvi and Susan Subak. For more than four years, since our second issue, Greg has been our editor. Renata has also been with us for more than four years, and Susan has been with NUCLEAR TIMES for a year. We thank them for their work, their talent and their devotion to this magazine.

Looking ahead, we are excited about our new editor, Elliott Negin. Elliott has been editor at *Public Citizen* magazine for the past three years. *Public Citizen* is part of Ralph Nader's network of organizations fighting for citizen safety, consumer rights, and public health, and we suspect that Elliott will bring along some of that

feisty quality. He also brings a keen eye—he has won awards for design and for illustration, as well as for writing—and you will see changes in the appearance of NUCLEAR TIMES this year.

We are planning other changes in the magazine, as well, in part thanks to your comments in the Reader Survey, which over 1300 readers returned to us. Many of you sent in thoughtful responses to our questions about NUCLEAR TIMES; in 1987 we want to extend those questions and answers into a continuing process of give-and-take with our readers.

We want to "talk" with you, and also listen, as our comments on page 19 about creating a NUCLEAR TIMES network indicate. If you are interested, send us your name and address. And if you are visiting Washington, drop in and visit with us at our new office, 1601 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

—Richard Healey  
Executive Director

Those wishing to keep in touch with Greg Mitchell can reach him at 260 Bleecker St., New York, NY 10014. Renata Rizzo-Harvi: 1781 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10034. Susan Subak: 300 W. 18th St., New York, NY 10011.

**"One of the few books recently published worth reading."\***

### Hope in Hard Times

*America's Peace Movement and the Reagan Era*

Paul Rogat Loeb (author of *Nuclear Culture*)

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—Philip Berrigan

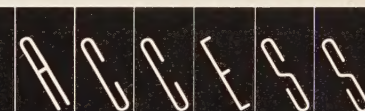
"Mr. Loeb offers the kind of confirmation the peace movement needs. At the same time he gives the rest of us a chance to learn about the people whose moral and spiritual strength makes it possible for them to be aware of the vulnerability so many of us would rather not think about."—*The New York Times*

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# EARLY WARNINGS

## Train Load

General John T. Chain Jr., commander of the Strategic Air Command, has raised a few eyebrows with his plan to get 50 more MX missiles out of Congress: put the 71-foot weapon on trains that would travel the country in times of crisis. General Chain is deadly serious about this; he's already talked to officials of the Union Pacific Railroad about it. Asked if he was concerned about public demonstrations blocking deployment of the mobile MX, General Chain responded: "The peace movement may give me a problem today but in a time of tension I'm really not worried about the peace movement or environmentalists or Soviet spies that are going to try to disrupt the rails."

## L.A. Law Smokes Out Opposition

When binding ballot initiatives hit too close to home, military contractors don't get mad, they get even. And they got even with a vengeance in Los Angeles last fall when they helped convince voters to defeat a Jobs with Peace (JwP) initiative by an unexpectedly wide margin, 62 to 38 percent.

Many L.A.-area military contractors contributed to a half-million dollar campaign to "stop" Proposition V, an economic conversion measure, with the Hughes Corporation (a Star Wars contractor) alone kicking in \$250,000. In a three-week blitz, a conservative-oriented public relations firm assaulted Los Angeles with media messages. Billboards proclaimed, "No on V, Save Our Jobs." Radio and television spots portrayed life before (happy suburbs) and after (wasted slums) Prop. V. Industries outside the state apparently felt threatened by the ordinance, too, with companies such as Grumman (New York), Hercules (Utah) and Boeing (Washington) donating from \$2500 to \$5000 each to defeat V.

Also hurting the proposition's

cause was opposition from some labor unions which had backed a milder JwP ballot measure two years earlier. Proposition V called for a conversion commission, which would have become an integral part of city government, to consider reinvestment of money from federal and employee pension funds. This was too much for members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local #347, which did not want anyone experimenting with *their* pension money. They even went so far as to lodge a suit against the measure. "We're not opposed to JwP's concepts," says David Trowbridge, general manager of Local 347. "But our primary responsibility is to protect the rights of our members, and we didn't feel [V] was in their best interests."

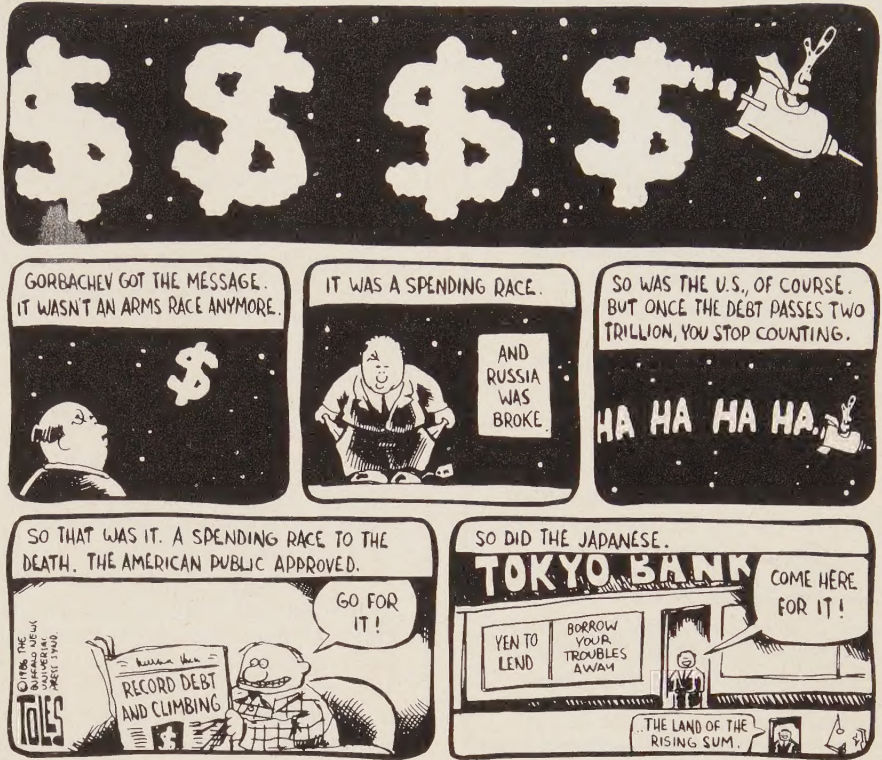
Across the country in Baltimore, Maryland, however, JwP did manage to pass, by a firm 59 to 41 percent margin, a binding ordinance creating a city commission to "advise on economic policies and practices that will increase the number of civilian-oriented jobs." Unlike their counterparts in L.A., Baltimore activists met little opposition from such local contractors as Martin Marietta and

Westinghouse. Unfortunately for JwP, the stronger the ballot measure, the harsher the weapons contractors react. But, as Larry Frank, L.A. JwP's director of development and public information, points out, "We [must have been] on target with our strategy—it forced the opposition into the open."

## Radiating Concern

Does a cumulative Chernobyl threaten America? According to a recent Brookhaven National Laboratory report, about 50 civilian nuclear reactors in the United States released over 51 million curies of radioactive particulates and gases from 1970 to 1981. This amount exceeds the estimated 40 million curies attributed to the Chernobyl disaster.

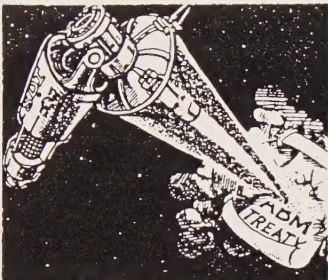
Now a new Council on Economic Priorities study reveals that residents of states with military and commercial nuclear reactors have experienced mortality rates higher, since 1970, than have residents of nonnuclear states. The study, *Public Health: Nuclear Emissions Take Their Toll*, by Dr. Jay Gould, also suggests that nearly





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# EARLY WARNINGS

9000 excess deaths each year may be  
attributed to routine and accidental  
emissions from the nation's operating  
nuclear reactors. The study claims to  
be "the first major statistical demon-  
stration of the possible relationship  
between nuclear emissions and mor-  
tality."

Europeans have shown a great deal  
of interest in the report, Gould says.  
"There's more interest in this kind of  
information in Europe than in Amer-  
ica," Gould explains, "but there's more  
data *here*." □

## Survivalist Chic

"Nuclear war is quite survivable,"  
says Dr. Evan Koslow, 32, editor-in-  
chief and associate publisher of *Nu-  
clear, Biological, and Chemical Defense  
and Technology International*. The  
glossy new monthly aims to provide  
the kind of sophisticated information  
professionals in the public and pri-  
vate sector need to analyze policy  
and get their "share of the defense  
market," according to the magazine's  
promotional material. The financial  
backing comes from Bob Guccione,  
publisher of *Penthouse* and *Omni*. Re-  
cent issues have included articles on  
poison gas ("Is Mustard Still  
King?"), the Swiss program of pro-  
viding hardened shelters against nu-  
clear war for every citizen, and new  
devices that arrest the destructive ef-  
fects of the electromagnetic pulse (a  
primary cause of communications-  
system failure during nuclear explo-  
sions). Full-color advertisements  
offer the latest in "chemical agent



Supermarket in Richland, WA,  
near Hanford nuclear reservation

alarms" and gas-mask and fallout  
shelter filters to protect against nu-  
clear radiation.

"I think there's poor information  
available to professionals in this  
area," asserts Dr. Koslow, who be-  
lieves the nuclear winter theory is  
"invalid." Koslow, who has a back-  
ground in agriculture and forestry as  
well as physics, believes Carl Sagan  
is a "publicity hound" and nuclear  
winter is "just soap opera. If people  
are sheltered for the first week of a  
nuclear war, they'll survive. What is  
worrying to me is the rebuilding of  
an economic base. That scares me  
more than trace quantities of radia-  
tion in the soil."

The present economic base of the  
nuclear, biological and chemical—  
"NBC," in shorthand—industry is  
obviously quite sound. Koslow's Jan-  
uary issue carries a buyers' guide to all  
the manufacturers of NBC equipment  
and their more than 1000 products. □

## BLIPS

Several members of Hollywood's **Brat Pack** of young actors  
and actresses have expressed interest in journeying to the Soviet  
Union with members of peace groups later this year ... The  
House Democratic leadership is now committed to pressing,  
as soon as possible, for legislation requiring adherence to **SALT II limits**, thanks  
to a resolution adopted by the Democratic caucus in December ... Global  
military expenditures have reached \$900 billion a year, or \$1.7 million a  
minute, according to Ruth Sivard's 11th edition of **World Military and Social  
Expenditures** ... Support for antinuclear **initiative campaigns** in 1988 is  
likely to grow in wake of passage last November of test ban/disarmament ballot  
measures in five Massachusetts districts (with 72 percent of the vote) ...  
Tacoma, Washington's groundbreaking No-First-Use referendum lost, but  
barely (51 to 49 percent) ... Voters adopted a binding **nuclear free zone**  
ordinance in two parts of California (Berkeley and Marin County) but rejected  
it in a third (Sonoma County) ... Perhaps the most encouraging election  
statistic for activists searching for **new constituencies** can be found in this  
formulation: The breakdown of voters in all House races reads—Democrats  
18.9 percent, Republicans 17 percent, nonvoters 62.7 percent ...



# NUCLEAR CULTURE

Despite, or perhaps because of, public criticism, the ABC television network will finally broadcast its 12-hour miniseries, *Amerika*, starting in February. A broad protest campaign featuring letter-writing projects and the distribution of local organizers' packets (see *Calendar*, page 43) has been gathering momentum, and activists aren't just going on hearsay, as *Amerika*'s makers contend. Most groups have procured scripts or seen actual clips from the film. Such first-hand knowledge has enabled activists and educators to get a jump on viewers' attention. By conducting classroom discussions and workshops they are attempting to discredit *Amerika*'s overall tone—even specific scenes in the miniseries.

But they're doing even more than that. "We're not just attacking the program, *per se*," explains Bruce Birchard, co-director of the American Friends Service Committee's (AFSC) Disarmament Program, "but addressing the larger assumptions that exist [about the Soviet Union] as well."

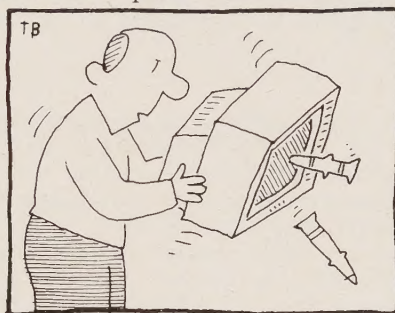
Along with AFSC, the Committee for National Security (CNS) has sent *Amerika* protest kits to scores of peace and peace-related organizations, and acts as a clearinghouse for information about *Amerika* educational projects around the country. The AFSC packet suggests ways to respond to the myths about the Soviet Union, the United Nations and the American peace movement propagated by the program—which dramatizes a Soviet takeover of the United States—and provides phone numbers of local ABC stations. The Wisconsin-based group Equal Time continues to barrage the network with petitions and Jeff Cohen, director of the new media watchdog group FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) has appeared on dozens of radio talk shows, and was even interviewed by ABC News.

SANE's approach is a bit more colorful. The organization is planning, as Bob Musil, SANE's communications director envisions it, "a Kennedy Center sort of thing, with pro-arms control senators, Soviet and American celebrities, caviar and balalaikas." The event will also feature expert speakers and clips from duck-and-cover Cold War newsreels, followed by a mass viewing of *Amerika* in a central place "so everyone can laugh at it," Musil explains. SANE aims, says Musil, to "present the peace movement as the cultural mainstream

and the situation in the film as being on the fringes."

The effect of all this activity on ABC has apparently been minimal so far. By now there probably isn't an anti-*Amerika* activist who has not received this impassive form letter from Alfred Schneider, ABC's vice president for policy and standards: "This will acknowledge your letter dated [ ]. While we believe your comments regarding the program, yet to be telecast, are unjustified, we appreciate learning of your concerns."

Jane Schirmer of Equal Time admits: "We're not really making headway or getting the response [we wanted] from the networks." FAIR's Jeff Cohen does not expect a serious response from ABC—say, a "balancing" discussion panel or counter-programming following the miniseries—until the last minute, but feels that the long-term effects will be positive in any case.



While ABC remains unmoved, response from prospective viewers has been encouraging. "The public is eager for attempts to resolve international problems," says Jonathan Halperin, program director of CNS. "The peace movement should be enhancing any opportunity for public education on arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations. Let's take advantage of it [*Amerika*]. We didn't run to it, it came to us. We can use this fiction to address the realities."

Birchard describes AFSC's effort as an attempt to "reframe the public consciousness." In its organizers' packets AFSC encourages discussion of a set of assumptions they perceive in *Amerika*: that the Soviet Union has the intent and ability to occupy the United States and that the United Nations could become a Soviet puppet, for example.

"Once people see we're not into censorship, they're interested," affirms Equal Times' Jane Schirmer. "Many people told us they weren't aware of *Amerika* and now they're going to make a point of watching it." Critically,

—Miranda Spencer

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# New Congress Flexes Muscle

*Considers fast action on SALT II, test ban*

BY MARTIN HAMBURGER

**F**ollowing the setbacks surrounding the Reykjavik summit, the election of several new arms control supporters—bringing fresh leadership to major committees and subcommittees—should boost chances for congressional action on arms control in 1987. Another potentially positive factor has been introduced as the 100th Congress convenes. "Party dominance of the Senate was the issue in 1986," observes Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) lobbyist David Lewis. "With the first presidential primaries just over a year away, 1988 politics is the new factor shaping our work."

Congress has its work cut out for it as it returns to business this month. With the Administration reeling from disclosures arising from the Iranian arms deals, Congress will be newly focused on foreign policy issues. The new Democratic committee chairs are not expected to be bashful about using their privilege to hold hearings on SALT II, nuclear testing, and issues arising from the Reykjavik summit.

Among the first legislative items to be considered will be nuclear weapons testing. As part of last fall's "settlement" in advance of the Reykjavik summit—the House yielded on five strong arms control measures it had passed—both houses of Congress pledged to take up some kind of legislation related to testing. In the Senate, Majority Leader Robert Byrd is likely to push for ratification of the Threshold Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as well as the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. In the House, legislation cutting off funds for nuclear tests will be among the first orders of business for arms control supporters.

While the funding cut-off legislation has a good chance of passage in the House, Senate passage of the measure is more dicey, even under Democratic control. The Senate has never voted on such legislation in the past. At the same time, however, the Iran/Contra scandal, the President's decision to abrogate the SALT II numerical limits, and the failure of the Reykjavik summit all point to a growing feeling that there is little hope for



**Mikulski: Thumbs up for arms control?**

the Administration ever coming to an arms control agreement. Says one aide to a liberal Republican senator, "I don't know if I would assume that [binding legislation] wouldn't pass. There's a lot of support for it. I think it's impossible to say."

Last year's House arms control package will serve as the base for other congressional measures. Binding legislation to enforce the recently-violated limits of the SALT II Treaty and to ban tests of anti-satellite weapons are key legislative goals for many arms control groups on the Hill. Lobbyists are optimistic about the chances for all of these initiatives.

A fight is expected over Administration plans to request funds for another 50 MX missiles, to be based on railroad cars, a basing mode which one Hill lobbyist has nicknamed "Amtrak-Pack." While most observers find it hard to imagine Congress supporting more MX missiles in so politically unpalatable a basing mode, arms control groups are bracing for a fight.

On the President's Star Wars program, the Administration is expected to request nearly \$6 billion in spending authority. While many groups would like to see the President's program eliminated entirely, political reality may dictate a more modest settlement. Lobbyists are presently strategizing over how big a cut is politically feasible, some optimistically pushing for funding below \$3 billion.

But what is the shape of the new Congress that will take up these measures?

## PACKAGE IN STORE

The best post-election news for arms controllers, of course, is found in the Senate. Of the 33 newly elected, or reelected senators, 14 of them are proven arms controllers. While some of the new Senators, such as Barbara Mikulski, replace other arms control supporters, lobbyists count a net gain in arms control votes. In issues where the votes were very close to begin with, such as Star Wars, such a change could put the arms control position over the top. In addition, Democratic control of the Senate means that arms controllers can hold hearings and schedule floor votes, a power which Senate Republicans have used to quash arms control measures in the past.

Senate arms controllers have also, for the most part, succeeded in getting seats on the key committees. Mikulski and Harry Reid garnered the two coveted seats on the Senate Appropriations Committee. "We've picked up a vote or two on [the Senate] Appropriations [Committee], which could make a difference," says Michael Mawby, Common Cause lobbyist. And on the Senate Armed Services Committee two out of the three appointments went to arms control advocates—Albert Gore and Tim Wirth.

On the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, all four new members—Paul Simon, Terry Sanford, Brock Adams, and Daniel Moynihan—are, to varying degrees, proponents of arms control. While this is certainly an improvement over the previous Congress, some observers question the importance of this body as a forum. "They [the Foreign Relations Committee] don't deal with money, they deal with treaties," says Mawby. "Unless you have power of the purse, you've got less room to affect policy." In the House, a net gain of seven progressive seats adds to the momentum created in the waning days of the 99th Congress.

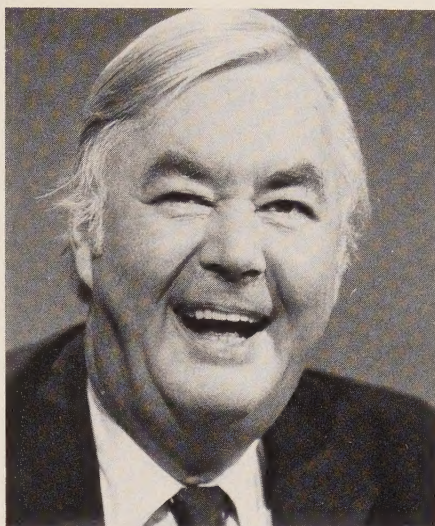
Aside from the membership of the Congress itself, many observers feel the congressional atmosphere for arms control remains good. "I think that the House is likely to put together yet another package," David Stoner, legisla-



tive aide to Rep. Claudine Schneider notes, referring to the five arms control provisions the House passed in August 1986. "I am hopeful that an accommodation can be reached with the Senate."

Pressure to cut military spending will be even greater this year than last, because of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction legislation. Says David Lewis, PSR lobbyist, "Money is tighter than ever, and deficits are raging out of control." Lewis believes that legislators, fresh from an election in which reduced government spending was a big issue, will have to make cuts in the military budget as well as in other areas. Members of Congress, says Lewis, "are more aware than ever of the scant financial resources. Outrageous military expenditures are less defensible than ever."

Finally, the White House crisis over covert arms deals will clearly have an impact on all legislative action regarding foreign and military policy in the Congress. While at the time of this writing it is hard to predict where the deepening crisis will lead, it is safe to say that the



**Moynihan: Why is this man laughing?**

President's credibility has been severely hurt. Says political consultant Peter Fenn, of Peter Fenn and Associates, "A lot of people think that the foreign policy of this Administration has run amok."

While the Administration is preoccupied with damage control in a long, drawn-out scandal, it will be less able to focus staff time and media attention on its legislative goals.

Finally, as the Reagan era winds down (or self-destructs), political fights on the Hill in 1987 will, to a large extent, be affected by the battle for the presidency in 1988. Hill lobbyists are beginning to see their work as setting the stage for the platform for a new Administration. "In 1987, the position that Congress takes on our issues forces the presidential candidates to address those issues," says Jerry Hartz, legislative director for SANE. "We have to set the ground for a new president."

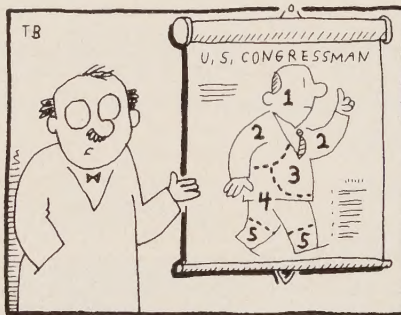
Clearly the consensus on the Hill is one of guarded optimism. Yet, if there is one lesson to be learned from the experience of 1986, it is that success can be evanescent. Clear victories achieved through months of hard work can be lost overnight. The challenge of 1987 will be to ensure that hard work translates into real achievement. □

## Lobbying: An Alternative Approach

There is enormous pressure on organizations in Washington to develop a "winning strategy," that is, one that can gather at least one vote more than 50 percent in each house of Congress. While winning is important—it is, after all, the only way to pass legislation—there is an unfortunate tendency for all activity to be tailored to the tastes of the moderate middle of the political spectrum. The fundamental issues often seem to get lost.

A new approach to lobbying being developed by several organizations can maintain the necessary emphasis on compromise and, at the same time, nourish the vision of the movement.

It involves splitting the country into five clusters of roughly 90 congressional districts each. In order to win a vote in the House you need 218 votes, or slightly less. About 90 members are reliable supporters of serious arms control measures, and another 90 will support most of these measures most of the time. But by the time you get to the middle one-fifth of the House, half of whose votes are needed for victory, you are dealing with "moderates" of both parties who will support arms control measures only when they have been watered down and trimmed.



The middle fifth is comprised of the "swing votes" that are perennially lobbied by the peace movement on one side and the White House and Pentagon on the other. Peace groups in those congressional districts are pressed by Washington lobbyists again and again to write, phone and visit their "swing" representative. Groups in the other 80 percent of the country are often left alone by Washington because there seems to be nothing for them to do. Or, they are expected to get behind the bills and amendments that have a chance of winning, even though they were tailored to attract the middle 20 percent who are not arms controllers at heart. This lowest-common-denominator consensus is often put forth as the core of a national campaign.

It is much more efficient to rank the representatives based on their voting records. The *number ones*, or the top one-fifth, are the strongest arms control supporters, and if you live in one of their districts you should lobby for advanced or "radical" positions, such as constraining anti-submarine warfare or pulling nuclear weapons out of Western Europe, even though such measures are unlikely to pass the House in the next session or two. The *number twos* are solid on the MX, CTB and SALT II but they need to be lobbied on the Trident D-5, which they tend to vote for. The hawkish *fours* and *fives* can be lobbied for lower military spending and some other measures. The *threes* are the usual swings, but under our lobbying theory *everyone* is a swing on *some* issue.

A world free from the threat of nuclear destruction is still far beyond the horizon of the 100th Congress. By promoting different parts of the same vision in different districts we can ask every member of Congress to move in the same direction—toward a distant goal rather than toward the middle. Our best measure of progress will be when the entire political spectrum begins to shift, moving the middle ground with it.

—Michael Ferber  
& Howard Morland

*The authors work for the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C.*



# Election '88 Underway

*Presidential race a primary question*

BY MARTIN HAMBURGER

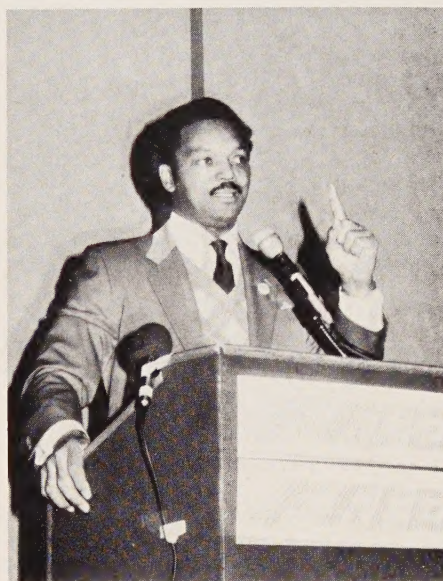
**P**olitical action committees affiliated with arms control and peace groups came of age in 1986. "We have gotten to the point where the peace groups are no longer trying to break into this field, but are mature operators in the political environment," says Chip Reynolds, national director of Freeze Voter. Indeed, arms control groups raised more money, fielded more volunteers, and contributed more staff and expertise to arms control candidates than ever before.

Yet the 1986 elections were an enigma. With each party claiming that the very future of the nation was at stake, real issues played little or no part in the election. Every two years arms control groups are disappointed when their issue does not move to the forefront of electoral politics. But in 1982, '84 and again last year candidates at least were forced to deal with, or finesse, the issue effectively.

Reynolds views the past three election cycles as part of an "experimental phase" for the peace PACs. But movement leaders are already looking to newer strategies for the 1988 elections. Many believe that presidential politics is the next challenge to surmount.

"I think we can play a very important role," says David Cortright, SANE's executive director. "Our support could provide the major core of volunteers and activists for a presidential campaign." Political consultant Peter Fenn suggests that arms control will be more of an election issue in 1988 than it was in '86 because of presidential politics. The American people "don't have a sense that congressional candidates can do anything [about the arms race] but they do have a sense that presidential candidates can do something," says Fenn.

SANE plans to get heavily involved in the primaries, including the possibility of making an endorsement of a presidential candidate before the nominating process is over. SANE's Cortright maintains that there may be several candidates who have strong positions on arms control, such as Senator Gary Hart, Senator Joseph Biden, Governor Michael Dukakis or Reverend Jesse Jackson. "My own feeling is that it would be a mistake for us to be out in front on behalf of any one



**Jackson: A SANE choice?**

candidate," he admits. Nevertheless, Cortright believes that a clear choice could emerge early on in the election season.

Others believe that there is another important political strategy for the peace PACs to consider. "It's absolutely necessary to be in there and shape the presidential message, shape the presidential debate," says Freeze Voter's Reynolds, "but I can't see a candidate emerging who could gain sufficient popularity within the peace movement to get people to back him. Ultimately it's state and local politics that will have the greatest impact in presidential elections." Freeze Voter's strategy for the future includes making a stronger commitment to working on state and local races. "We're doomed to be a hollow shell," says Reynolds, "if we do not find a way to involve our people in state and local politics."

Reynolds claims that there are important long-term benefits to this strategy. By giving individuals greater experience in political campaigns and by integrating them into the local political structure, activists can work themselves permanently into the mainstream of American political life. "The greatest challenge that we faced coming into 1986 was demonstrating that grass-roots involvement in peace politics wasn't a passing

phenomenon," says Reynolds, "and that we would be able to sustain this involvement in a credible fashion, year after year."

SANE's Cortright agrees that participation in state and local politics is important, and points to SANE's involvement last year in races in Washington state, as well as Chicago's mayoral race in 1983, where SANE endorsed, and gave a hefty contribution to, then-candidate Harold Washington. "We helped Washington partly as a coalitional effort to show our willingness to support a strong candidate in the black community," says Cortright. "The Washington state experience has been very interesting to us, and we're really looking at it." (SANE was involved in several state senate races and had a significant impact in at least one.)

For now, the debate over the two diverse but possibly complementary strategies—one aimed at the highest office in the land, the other local campaigns—will continue. To some extent, these approaches will have to be shaped by the desires of the local activists themselves. Whatever the ultimate outcome, the fact that there is disagreement shows the level of ambition and sophistication which the peace PACs have achieved.

Meanwhile, PAC leaders continue to study the results of the 1986 races for lessons to grow on next year.

## STAR WARS FIZZLES

Peter Fenn, a political consultant in Washington, D.C., recognizes one central fact of the 1986 election. "I think there really weren't any issues that were overwhelming," he says. "Arms control did not play a very large part [in the election]."

Several surveys bear this out. According to a poll by Peter D. Hart Research Associates in October, only 16 percent of the electorate rated "working for nuclear arms control" as being "very important in deciding how to vote." CBS News/*New York Times* election day exit polling showed only 14 percent rated Defense/Arms Control as a top issue. Another CBS/*New York Times* survey, asking people what would make the "biggest difference" in how they voted this year, discovered that 40.9 percent mentioned the character or experience of the candidates, 23 percent said "state and local issues" and just 19.9 percent chose "national issues."

Despite this, there are several reasons for optimism. Even though the issue was not significant nationally, exit polling shows that it played a significant role in a few races. In Colorado, where Representative Ken Kramer sought to use the Star Wars issue against his Democratic opponent, Representative Tim Wirth, fully 31



percent of the electorate saw Defense/Arms Control as the most important issue (CBS/*New York Times*). This large bloc supported Wirth over Kramer in the Senate race. Clearly, Kramer made a strategic error in raising the issue to a level of high prominence.

In Vermont, where Senator Patrick Leahy successfully defended his seat against a challenge by former Governor Richard Snelling, Defense/Arms Control was rated as the top issue in the election by 40 percent of the voters. This voting bloc supported Leahy by a margin of 72 percent to 25 percent. Leahy made a strong effort to bring arms control groups into his campaign, and made Snelling's support of weapons systems a major campaign issue. This strategy produced a big Leahy vote.

One thing is inarguable. "Ronald Reagan's attempt to make Star Wars a galvanizing issue in the electorate," Fenn observes, "clearly didn't work." Reagan, who campaigned nationwide against many Democratic candidates, sought to build support for Star Wars both as an attempt to limit the damage after the Reykjavik summit and to help elect Republicans to the Senate. In the wake of Reykjavik, support for the Star Wars program inched up. Yet this support did not translate to Republican candidates. According to exit polling by ABC News, only seven percent of the electorate viewed Reagan's support for Star Wars as a key voting issue. Even this voting bloc supported Democrats by a 52 percent to 47 percent margin.

Yet if arms control was not a decisive issue in the election, many agree that it still had an atmospheric effect. "Arms control," Fenn explains, "is the kind of issue in the back of people's minds. Candidates and members of Congress are increasingly concerned with making people believe that they are concerned about it." Fenn points to the surprising election year "conversions" of conservatives who do not usually support arms control initiatives.

One of the most striking displays of this phenomenon took place in Pennsylvania, where Senator Arlen Specter beat back a strong challenge from Representative Bob Edgar to win reelection. The Edgar defeat, by a 57 to 43 percent margin, was one of the major disappointments of the campaign for arms control PACs, who supported him heavily through a tough primary and then a general election battle. Still, this backing paid dividends: Specter supported arms control measures with much greater vigor in 1986. "We got 100 percent [on our voting records] out of him," declares Cortright. "The key question is: What will we get out of him *this* year?" ☐

## Chernobyl: can it happen here?

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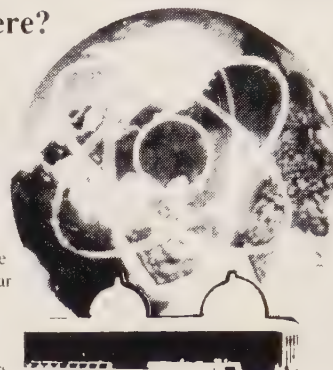


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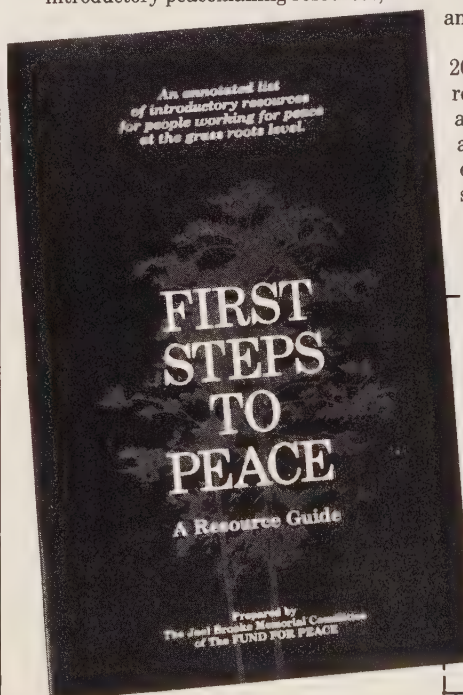
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# Beyond The Cold War

*Can America shed 70 years of anti-Sovietism?*

BY GEORGE PERKOVICH

**“H**ow can you take a positive stand on an issue that the Soviets happen to support without making your work ineffective?” Susan Alexander, executive director of Educators for Social Responsibility, sounds perplexed as she poses the question that many others have stumbled over without answering. “There is so much anti-Sovietism and you can get damaged by it if you’re perceived as pro-Soviet. People act as if you’re either pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet—as if it’s so black and white. I’m certainly not pro-Soviet. The Soviet system is repressive and this matters to me. On the other hand I’m not comfortable with all the connotations of being anti-Soviet.”

Alexander’s dilemma is profound, and it is widely shared. The problem of “anti-Sovietism” confronts anyone working to end reliance on nuclear weapons and war as instruments of national security.

Anti-Sovietism is difficult to define. It is more than a reflexive hatred of the Soviet Union, but how much more?

Is it anti-Sovietism or realism when someone strongly criticizes a specific policy or practice of the Soviet Union, such as the invasion of Afghanistan or the use of psychiatry as a means of stifling dissent? Is it anti-Sovietism or pragmatism when an individual or group chooses not to publicly challenge Cold War ideology for fear of being labeled pro-Soviet?

While encapsulating American attitudes in one term—“anti-Soviet” or “pro-Soviet”—ignores the nuances, it nevertheless conveys in shorthand the tendency toward *intolerance* or *indulgence* of the Soviet Union that operates in our culture. A third term, “not-soft,” may be coined to connote the widespread reluctance to deal with the Soviet issue for fear of being deemed “soft on the Russians” or an “apologist.”

In the late 1980s, it is imperative that Americans reexamine their attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the role the



**NINOTCHKA, 1939, directed by Ernst Lubitsch: Greta Garbo's Soviet emissary was beautiful, intelligent and human—“Garbo laughs!”, the ads proclaimed—but her allegiance was shaken by an affair with a Paris playboy.**

Cold War plays in the world. Economically, ecologically and technologically, the world has become stunningly interdependent. Ozone depletion, deforestation, terrorism, Third World debt, the thorough interaction of capital on world markets, nuclear waste, nuclear accidents, and ultimately the threat of total annihilation in nuclear war demand international or multilateral responses. A bi-polar, Cold War world view predicated on conflict and unilateralism seems to deepen these problems, not solve them.

Reevaluating attitudes toward the Soviet Union has gained particular urgency in the past two years. Despite the peace movement's successes, the Reagan Administration and the Congress have continued to cling to Cold War arguments at a time when the Soviet Union shows real signs of wanting to demilitarize and “de-ideologize” super-power relations and international politics, and make dramatic concessions on nuclear weapons issues.

The new generation of Soviet leaders appears to recognize that the Cold War was an anachronistic attempt to readjust (or maintain, for the USSR) the results of World War II, and that the threats to security in the modern era are so different that only forward-thinking can help make us safe. Many Europeans, such as Helmut Schmidt, have urged the United States to accept the reality that economics—not ideology or weaponry—is the source of security.

Finally, the American public, awakened and informed by the peace movement, and alarmed by a silo-rattling president, is beginning to feel the need for a new, “pragmatic, live-and-let-live” attitude toward the USSR, according to the pollsters Daniel Yankelovich and John Doble.

Yet despite the indications that we are on the cusp of a new era, the leadership needed to take the United States into the post-Cold War epoch has not emerged. The peace movement has remained diffi-

*George Perkovich is a freelance writer in Somerville, Massachusetts. He recently received a master's degree in Soviet Studies from Harvard University.*



dent. The Freeze Campaign always "lacked a strategy for taking [Cold War ideology] on directly," says one of its founders, Pam Solo. And the movement today, notwithstanding some discrete educational and exchange programs, appears undecided on whether and how to proceed toward a new American understanding and policy toward the Soviet Union.

### HEAD-ON or END RUN?

The movement's failure to take the lead in reorienting America's Soviet policy has stimulated some vigorous internal questioning. Two related themes run through these discussions: Has the movement unwisely ducked the Soviet issue, mistakenly thinking arms reductions and Soviet-American relations are separable problems? And is "anti-Sovietism"—ignorance and intolerance of the Soviets—*within* the movement one of the reasons why the Cold War has gone largely unchallenged?

Dr. Bernard Lown, co-founder of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), stepped into the breach in a powerful speech at the annual PSR meeting last March. "The people who have been most committed in struggling against the consequences of the Cold War are unwilling to oppose its premises," Lown said, referring to the peace movement.

Suzanne Gordon, who has written about (and been allied with) the movement for years, argued in the November 1986 issue of the *Progressive* that "Soviet-phobia is found . . . in the peace movement as well as in the Pentagon. . . . A number of the more 'liberal' arms-control groups . . . seem to have concluded that they can best exert their influence by catering to conventional anti-Soviet biases."

Others, such as Anne Cahn, director of the Committee for National Security, feel that "if anything, some segments of the peace movement bend over backwards not to accuse the Soviets of anything."

Caught between potential assaults from the right or the left, the movement has been paralyzed when it comes to devising and promoting a shared analysis of the Soviet Union and a policy toward it. As a participant in one of the regular meetings of peace organization directors in Washington, D.C. recently put it, "the group acknowledged the problem anti-Sovietism posed to a number of policy stances, but did not try to address it head on. Instead they went forward as if the whole anti-Soviet/pro-Soviet issue would take care of itself."

The movement's "Soviet problem," and what to do about it—work around it or tackle it directly—stands as a paramount issue as activists and analysts grapple

with the question, "where do we go from here?" In order to begin to answer this question, it is first necessary to explore the forms "anti-Sovietism" takes in different segments of society, and the myriad reasons for it.

### EASY TO BE HARD

There are common roots to all the branches of anti-Sovietism in America. And it is psychologists such as Jerome Frank, John Mack, and Steven Kull who

hard not to have adverse reactions to the Soviet system when you've dealt with it."

The legacy of Stalin's murderous collectivization and great purges is imprinted on America's mind, as is the domination of Eastern Europe, anti-Semitism, the psychiatric torture of a handful of dissidents, and so on. Though the Soviet system today differs dramatically from the Soviet system in Stalin's era, and is likely to become more open under Gorbachev's leadership, scholars and peace activists



**INVASION OF THE BODY SNATCHERS, 1956, directed by Don Siegel: Before there was an "Amerika," heartless pod-people took over the United States in this sci-fi film widely viewed as a mid-1950s anti-Communist parable.**

seem to have exposed these roots most clearly.

Mack, a Harvard psychiatrist and Pulitzer Prize-winning author, diagnoses America's anti-Sovietism as an "ideology of enmity." Mack writes that "the ideologies of enmity are oversimplified ways of looking at complex political relationships, so that all evil intention and behavior is seen as residing in the other; aggression and destructiveness committed by one's own nation is made invisible, or justified and rationalized. Responsibility for the predicament is found elsewhere."

This need for an enemy has always existed in the United States no less than in Russia. Regrettably, the Soviet Union has done plenty to justify America's primal fear and contempt for that nation, just as the United States has helped solidify Soviet fears of it.

"It's not hard to be anti-Soviet," says Marshall Goldman, associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center. "It's

who visit the Soviet Union are often frustrated and angered by the Soviets' reluctance to share blame for the arms race or discuss Soviet secrecy, among other issues.

Thus, in both the recesses of our memory, and in current Soviet reality, there is much that impels Americans toward anti-Sovietism.

### THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY & THE NEWS MEDIA

The psychological source of anti-Sovietism no doubt flows into, and is expressed by, the media, specialists, politicians, the public and the peace movement. Nevertheless, the entertainment industry provides the most graphic evidence of the malady.

Recent movies such as *Rambo*, *Red Dawn*, *Invasion USA*, *White Nights*, and next month's ABC mini-series, *Amerika* (to name only a few), are brutally straightforward assaults on reality which dehumanize the Soviets and portray murder-



ous violence against Russians as the heroic triumph of good over evil. The number of these films, and television commercials using an anti-Soviet motif, has increased dramatically during the Reagan era, and testifies to the underlying willingness of Americans to see the Soviet Union as the source of all evil.

The news media present a more complicated picture. Many activists, like Bruce Birchard, co-director of the American Friends Service Committee's Disarmament Program, believes "there is a strong anti-Soviet bias in the way the U.S. media cover the Soviet Union." Dennis McAuliffe, associate editor of the *Washington Post Weekly*, acknowledges that much of the media's treatment of the Soviet Union is often "misleading." By focusing on dissidents and the many problems of Soviet society, the press gives Americans a very skewed picture of life there.

Perhaps the most insidious form of anti-Sovietism is that which dismisses Soviet government statements and proposals as worthless propaganda. The media dismissed, with prejudice, Mikhail Gorbachev's January 1986 proposal to cut strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent, eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe, extend the Soviet moratorium on testing, and seek to destroy all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Yet Gorbachev's proposal is nearly identical to the deal President Reagan agreed to in Reykjavik, before differences over the Strategic Defense Initiative came into play. Had the press taken the January proposal seriously, it is likely the implications of such dramatic arms reductions would have been thought out before Reykjavik, avoiding the panic that ensued after it was over.

Besides traditional American anti-Sovietism, what lies behind the news media's failure to provide a sound, contextual understanding of the Soviet Union? Discussions with editors and writers indicate that anti-Sovietism *per se* is less a factor than is commonly thought. Instead, the media's peculiarities as an institution explain much of the flawed treatment of the USSR. Ignorance, timidity, laziness, and the general inclination to be negative are primary causes of "bad press," and the Soviet Union is only the prime victim among many.

"It is impossible to underestimate the ignorance of most news editors on the subject" of the Soviet Union, comments Michael Janeway, former editor of the *Boston Globe*. This ignorance, among other things, keeps editors and reporters mired in the traditional American way of seeing the Soviet Union and biases them against "anyone who suggests any change for the better" in the Soviet Union, according

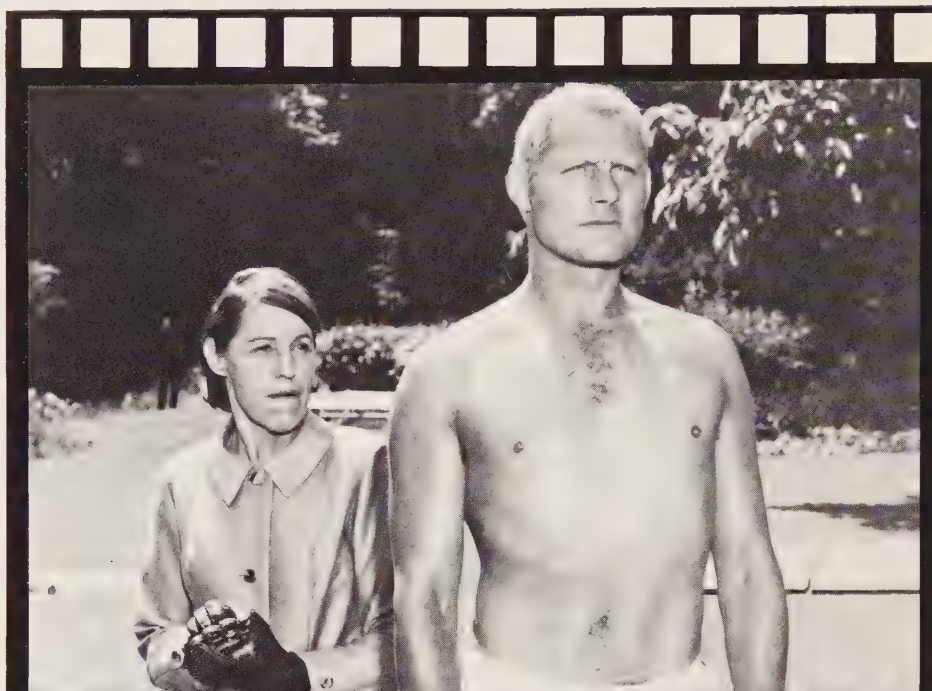
to Raymond Garthoff, a leading Sovietologist and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Jerry Hough, a Soviet expert at Duke University, places much of the blame for the press's coverage of the USSR on correspondents in the Soviet Union who rely on American or other Western diplomats as sources for their stories. These reporters thus relay the "administration line" from Moscow back to the United States.

Given the institutional habits of the

case. The tone, and the political line, specialists take are often affected by how they imagine their peers or powerful officials will perceive them. Usually the incentive is to take a hard line on the Soviet Union.

Brookings' Raymond Garthoff describes the situation this way: "Certainly there is a general tendency in the field of Sovietology to be cautious even in expressing the view that the Soviets have an interest in peace—that they don't want



**FROM RUSSIA WITH LOVE, 1963, directed by Terence Young: Lotte Lenya was a long way from Garbo (and Brecht), and Robert Shaw was hardly himself, as evil Soviet agents in this early James Bond feature.**

media, which are both causes and effects of massive public ignorance of foreign societies, it is no wonder Americans don't really know much about the Russians. Any attempt by the peace and arms control communities to remedy inadequate media coverage of the Soviet Union must start by realizing that the problem is the media as an institution, not just the media as "anti-Soviet."

#### SPECIALISTS

The problem of anti-Sovietism takes a different form in the expert community of Sovietologists and arms controllers. While there is a range of opinions in the field, the overall attitude is revealed in a saying sometimes passed between specialists: "The more you know about the Soviet Union, the more you dislike it."

If anti-Sovietism among specialists were purely a function of their detailed knowledge and understanding of the Soviet system there would be no grounds for criticism. This, however, is not the

war. Because there's a fear of being considered naïve or an apologist, and that does inhibit what people tend to say. So there is caution in saying things in public for fear of being pro-Soviet."

The potential for gaining appointed political posts also impels specialists to err on the side of anti-Sovietism when writing or speaking for attribution. More than one Sovietologist has remarked that Zbigniew Brzezinski's writing on the Soviet Union, for example, reflects the political landscape of Washington more than that of Moscow. The same tendency exists among lesser-known specialists hoping their day in power will come soon.

But all the pressures are not anti-Soviet, as Harvard's Marshall Goldman points out. "I know people who won't criticize the Soviet Union in their work because they worry the Soviets won't give them visas if they do," says Goldman. This reluctance to criticize parallels a tendency among peace movement leaders



who worry that raising human rights issues will turn the Soviets against them.

Showing that Soviet actions cut both ways, Goldman reveals that his 1983 book, *USSR in Crisis*, was more "explicit" in its descriptions of the failings of the Soviet system than it would have been had not the Soviets denied *his* visa application just prior to his writing the book. Goldman, one of the most accessible and considerate Sovietologists, says forthrightly that he "would have put more modifiers" on negative words if he hadn't been angered by the Soviets and felt he had nothing to lose once they denied his visa.

Perhaps the most consequential bias in the expert community has less to do with hostility toward the USSR than with a shying away from fundamental questions. "The expert community [inside and outside government] will not get above third-order questions," says Michael McCWire, a senior fellow at Brookings and a specialist on the Soviet military. "You're taught to think of budgets and technological capabilities, . . . but not higher order questions, like what is the *nature* of the relationship between the superpowers," and what are the Soviets' deepest interests.

McCWire's own conclusions after asking first-order questions? "The image of a nation pursuing a 'relentless buildup' to support a quest for world military domination," he says; "is fundamentally inaccurate. The evidence does not support the hypothesis."

Whether or not McCWire's conclusion is correct, the bias against exploring, in tandem, Soviet intentions and capacities is pervasive and significant. This bias stems from fear of being labeled "pro-Soviet" and from the dominance of worst-case thinking among specialists, especially those dealing with military matters.

McCWire believes that worst-case thinking has "closed Western policymakers' minds to the possibility of changes in Soviet policy that could be in Western interests. Serious Soviet proposals [have been] discarded as propaganda, and valuable opportunities missed." McCWire argues that this mode of thought has been especially costly in arms control where "the West focused on an exaggerated Soviet threat and its own vulnerabilities, thus blinding itself to the evidence that the Soviets have such serious interest in reducing nuclear arsenals that they are willing to make major concessions to reach an agreement."

Many commentators have connected the prominence of worst-case thinking, and the deep prejudice against the Soviet Union, to the powerful role of Eastern European emigrés in the expert commu-

nity. Poles such as Richard Pipes, Brzezinski, Adam Ulam, Seweryn Bialer, the Hungarian Edward Teller, and numerous Russian emigrés have strong and deep animus toward the USSR which, though justified by their personal experiences, keeps them from being open-minded.

Despite the forces pulling many specialists away from open-minded analyses, a *sufficient* number of experts on the Soviet Union and arms control manage to perceive the shortcomings and outrages of the Soviet system and at the same time remain encouraged by the prospect of developing more cooperative, businesslike relations with Moscow.

Experts like Garthoff, Hough and McCWire at the Brookings Institution, Edward Warner at the Rand Corporation, Alexander Dallin at Stanford, and Matthew Evangelista at the University of Michigan, to name a few, are capable of talking and writing about the Soviet Union evenhandedly. These specialists generally view both superpowers, to varying degrees, as self-interested, often ignoble, and usually insecure actors on a stage surrounded by distorting mirrors.

"My basic premise is that the Soviets are very difficult people to work with, but you can do it," says Michael Krepon, a specialist on arms control compliance with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is to experts with this perspective that the media, the peace movement and political leaders should turn for guidance in analyzing and understanding the Soviet Union.

#### POLICYMAKERS AND THE SELLING OF THE COLD WAR

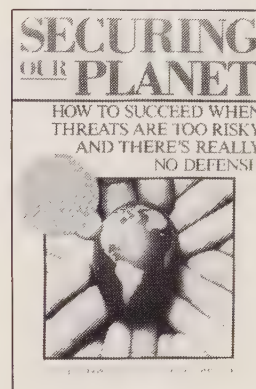
While politicians and government officials often wear their anti-Sovietism like a badge of honor they are not inclined to expose the systematic efforts the U.S. government has taken to foster Cold War attitudes and anti-Sovietism among the American public. Documentation of massive "brainwashing" campaigns is now extensive.

The United States government (along with the press and the public) were averse to communist "Russia" from the beginning, as the American invasion in 1920 and the non-recognition of the Soviet government until 1933 attest. But American state-sponsored enmity was really unleashed after World War II.

NSC 68, the secret government study overseen by Paul Nitze that elaborated the policy of containment in 1950, helped set the hysterical tone of Cold War anti-Sovietism: "The Soviet Union, unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world."

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The noted historian of the Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis, reports that in order to sell an immensely expensive foreign policy to the public and Congress, the State Department undertook, in the words of Edward Barrett, then-Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, a "psychological scare campaign." The purpose of this campaign was to frighten the public into supporting huge increases in defense spending to meet the ominous (and largely fabricated) Soviet threat.

Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, quaintly described this government propaganda as being "clearer than the truth." The same willingness to promote exaggerated fear and antipathy toward the Soviet Union is evident in NSC 162/2, written in 1953, and in who-knows-how-many other documents not yet published.

In the late 1970s and early '80s, the Committee on the Present Danger successfully propagated Cold War anti-Sovietism. As Richard Pipes wrote in *Commentary*: "CPD had much influence on public perceptions of the Soviet threat, with the result that voters soon took a more favorable view of increased defense expenditures and a more critical one of SALT II, which CPD selected as its particular target."

Most recently, Seymour Hersh detailed, in his book *The Target Is Destroyed*, how the Reagan Administration knowingly used the shooting down of KAL 007 as an opportunity to spawn hatred of the Soviet Union.

The scandal of these "scare campaigns" is not that they were "anti-Soviet" but that they were not based on reality, and were intended not to educate but to deceive the public. Psychologists remind us of the danger in this tactic. John Mack quotes the Nazi, Goering: "The people can always be brought to the bidding of its leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are threatened with attack, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger."

#### PUBLIC OPINION

Considering the systematic attempts to stir American hostility toward the Soviet Union it is a wonder that public opinion is as mixed as it is.

The public is of two minds when it comes to the Soviet Union. It tends to vacillate between an image of the Soviets "as people just like us," and one that sees them as "evil, corrupt and immoral," according to Bob Beschel, a research fellow at the Harvard Center on Science and International Affairs who specializes in American perceptions of the Soviet Union.

In numerical terms, Beschel says that

even "at the height of good relations you have 20 to 25 percent of the people who are solidly and deeply anti-Soviet." He says that another 10-15 percent of the population unwaveringly desires better relations with the Soviets. "And the remaining majority," Beschel concludes, "tends to shift on the basis of presidential leadership."

As of 1984, the majority believed that "the Soviet Union is an aggressive nation both militarily and ideologically, which

public opinion has no interest in being friends with the Soviets. "The idea is not friendship, but pragmatism," says Wagner. "It's almost like managers with labor—we've got to get along with these guys even if we don't like it."

To bring the Cold War to a close, or at least encourage public distaste for it, anyone interested in improving Soviet-American relations, Wagner believes, must "respect" that the "public's distrust" of the Soviets is "rooted in a clear need



**DR. STRANGELOVE, 1963, directed by Stanley Kubrick: The Soviets didn't come off very well in this brilliant satire—they are buffoons and they all die in the end—but at least the Americans (and the Germans) looked worse.**

presses every advantage, probes constantly for vulnerabilities, interprets every gesture of conciliation and friendship as weakness, fails to keep its promises, cheats on treaties, and, in general, gets the better of us in negotiations by hanging tough," according to pollsters Daniel Yankelovich and John Doble.

Today, Tony Wagner, director of The Public, The Soviets and Nuclear Arms project at the Public Agenda Foundation, summarizes public attitudes this way: "They distrust the Soviets, but they're uneasy with their distrust." Public Agenda's extensive program to develop policy options on nuclear arms and U.S.-Soviet relations attempts to understand the paradoxical nature of American public opinion toward the Soviets. Based on the foundation's preliminary work, and numerous other polls, it is clear that the public's anti-Sovietism is not as thoroughgoing as might be expected.

But Wagner, Beschel and others emphasize that the decisive mid-section of

for strong defense, but is not based on hostility or fear."

Wagner suggests that "business" metaphors may be ones that the public can increasingly relate to. Community leaders around the country, sounded out by Public Agenda, echo Margaret Thatcher's notion that "we can do business" with Gorbachev and the Soviets, he reports. Doing business implies a certain amount of wariness and selfishness, paired with recognition that mutual interests exist and can be acted upon for significant gains—on both sides.

The public also seems open to calls for dealing with the Soviets as we now deal with China, says Wagner. American attitudes toward China are relatively free of ideology and, along with government policy, focus instead on economics and the desire to promote stability in Asia.

It is important to understand, Wagner explains, that, unlike Congress and the peace movement, the public thinks "long-term" about the problem. "The



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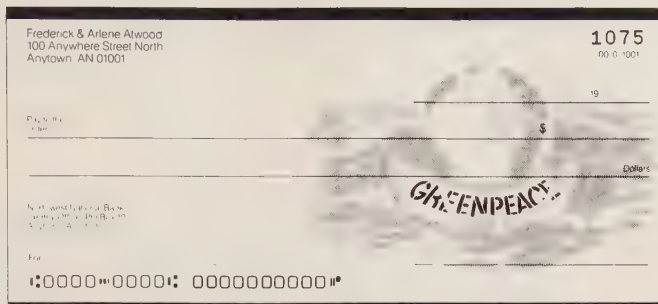
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The rationale for Star Wars as well as for nuclear weapons is that the Soviet Union is an evil empire. But as a high Islamic dignitary in the USSR told Sovietologist William Mandel: "Look at those endless wars to the south of us. We Soviet Moslems have had no war in our lands for 60 years."

He was speaking of the Moslem-majority Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tajikistan. They have very large minorities of Christian heritage, and a significant number of Jews.

In 10 visits to the USSR with tape-recorder and camera, Mandel has visited all 15 ethnic republics: Baltic, Slavic, Near Eastern, Asian. Ethnic jokes are still told, prejudices against intermarriage remain, and there are some—not only Jews—who think the grass is greener abroad. But there are no race riots or pogroms, no claim by anyone of police shootings based on color, religion, nationality, no ghettos, no beggars, no homeless. Each republic has its ethnic film industry, opera, ballet, literature, education in its own language, science, industry.

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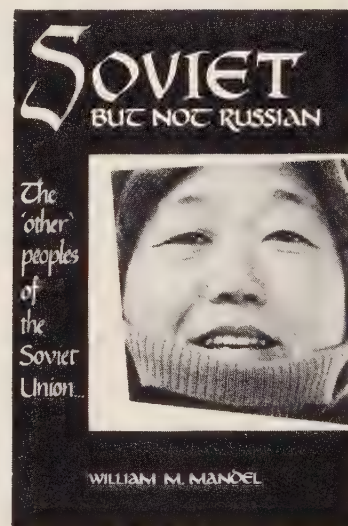
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public," he says, "wonders where a policy based upon open distrust and enmity will lead us in 20 years. They believe we have to see if there is a way out of the climate where the relationship is based solely on distrust"—and threats of mutual destruction. One of Public Agenda's next projects is to explore public visions of alternative relationships between the superpowers in the 21st century.

The parameters within which public opinion can be moved, however, are significantly determined by the Soviet Union itself, and the extent that Soviet actions offend American sensibilities. Beschel believes that a solid core of anti-Sovietism always remains and can quickly be activated if the Soviets act in a terrible way or the American leadership chooses to wage a campaign to highlight the Soviet threat.

While Wagner, Yankelovich, Doble and Beschel see the potential for reorienting American attitudes towards the USSR, it must be remembered that polling on the Soviet Union is relatively thin, and public ignorance is enormous. If this ignorance can be supplanted by information cast within central metaphors such as "doing business" with the Soviets, a way out of the Cold War may be found. But if ignorance is played upon by metaphors of evil and expansionist militarism, the Cold War is resupplied with the public support it needs. In other words, when the buyer is as unaware of the facts as the American public is, packaging matters most.

### THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The Soviet issue is an urgent problem for the American peace movement, both internally and as a matter to be reckoned with in its efforts to mold public opinion and influence policy-makers.

A cursory conclusion is that most activists are relatively uneducated about the Soviet Union and share the general public's abhorrence of many facets of the Soviet system—especially its human rights practices—but is convinced that the United States must commit itself to more businesslike relations with Moscow.

The primary difference between this outlook and the broader public's lies in the peace movement's deeper, steadier belief that relations *can* and *must* be improved, and that moving in this direction poses little danger to the United States. More than the public, the peace movement is prepared to rely on the United States' capacity to verify any agreements with Moscow, and to take seriously the Soviet Union's apparent desire to curb the arms race and get on with more pressing economic matters.

This generally positive attitude—by no means a consensus view, especially

among organization leaders—still contains all the various strains of "anti-Sovietism" (broadly defined), including uninformed condemnations of the Soviet Union and fear of being labelled as pro-Soviet by an anti-Soviet public and media. Yet, as Sayre Sheldon, president emeritus of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), argues, this view also reveals a healthy "new realism," a willingness to think critically about both the United States and the Soviet

Reagan deepened the attack with speeches repeating Barron's argument.

For some, the brief Red Scare that followed affirmed their reluctance to challenge assumptions about the Soviet Union. Others, who were committed to addressing the fallacies of Cold War thinking, stood up to the assault, but at a substantial cost of time and energy. "We didn't play into it or disown our politics," recalls former Freeze Campaign leader, Pam Solo. "We didn't slip into anti-com-



**REDS, 1981, directed by Warren Beatty: Like John Reed, Beatty at least takes the Russians seriously, but the closing image—a revolution betrayed—is the feeling that lingers.**

Union, and at the same time struggle for improved relations *between* them.

Proponents of this type of realism are not embarrassed to point out that it is pragmatic. "If you're dealing with a congressman who's hard on the Soviets and thinks you're soft on them, such as Les Aspin," observes WAND's Sheldon, "you don't challenge his views on the Soviets, but start with budgetary issues."

One reason why this quick-to-be-critical, slow-to-be-positive stance toward the USSR is pragmatic is the history of Red-baiting in the United States which had its contemporary manifestation in 1982-83.

*Reader's Digest*, in October 1982, spearheaded the right-wing assault on the peace movement with an article by John Barron entitled "The KGB's Magical War for Peace." The article alleged, among other things, that "little more than two miles from the White House, the KGB helped organize and inaugurate the American 'nuclear freeze' campaign." President

munism. We dealt with the accusations directly."

For every person who stood up to the assault, however, another person probably became more inhibited. The scare dramatically affirmed some activists' beliefs that it makes sense not to do anything that even *appears* pro-Soviet in American society, given the domestic political liabilities and their own opposition to the Soviet system.

Anne Cahn of the Committee for National Security acknowledges that this inhibition extends to a reluctance to challenge the assumptions of the Cold War. "Largely as a consequence of Red-baiting," she says, arms controllers and pro-arms control congress members "are afraid they'll be called 'Soft on Communism'" if they openly question Cold War ideology.

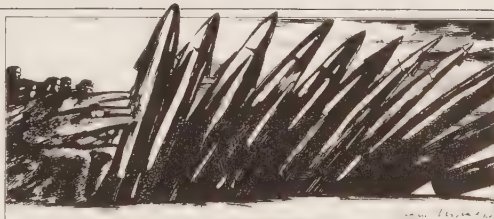
It is this strain of "anti-Sovietism"—the reluctance to take on the unjustifiable premises of the Cold War—that frustrates some leaders in the peace movement,



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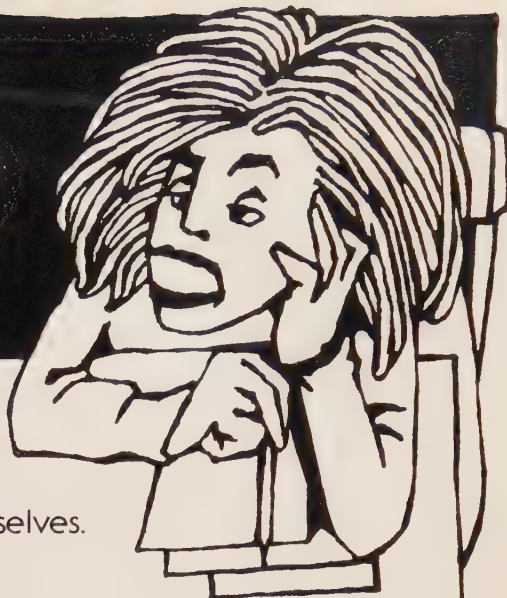
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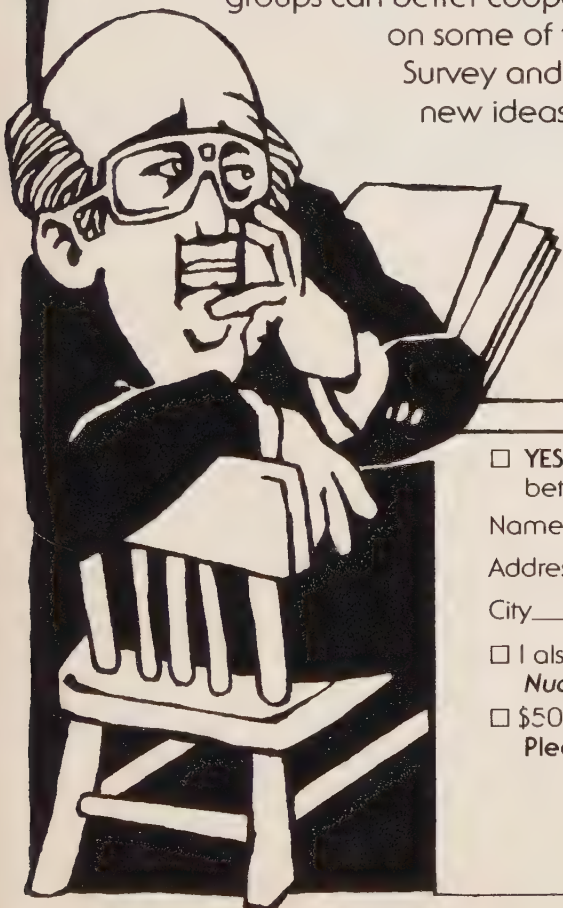
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such as Bernard Lown and Pam Solo.

"For a while the implicit assumption was that you can have an end to the arms race and carry on the Cold War, too," Solo says. She now concludes that the two are incompatible. "The peace movement needs to develop a more independent mind about [international politics] and not be captive to Cold War ideology."

Yet, despite the soundness of Solo's recommendation, and Bernard Lown's charge that "American peace movements, with but few exceptions, have diligently avoided addressing the distortion and the caricaturing of nearly every aspect of Soviet society," some left-flank critics go too far the other way. In Anne Cahn's words, there are people in the peace movement who "fail to hold the Soviets accountable" for behavior that violates human rights and other international norms by which the Soviets have agreed to abide.

Many who have been caught up in the skirmishes over the movement's attitude and policies toward the Soviet Union now conclude that the issue has become too polarized, and as a consequence it has become difficult to reach consensus on the need to replace Cold War thinking with a more global, objective assessment of the natures of American and Soviet societies and the threats each of them pose to international security.

Whether the movement can resolve the issue of internal "anti-Sovietism"—ignorance and intolerance of the Soviets and excessive fear of Red-baiting—so that it can effectively address societal misperceptions of the Soviet Union is uncertain. Yet by putting the issue openly on the table, Lown, Gordon, Solo, Wagner, Cahn and others have satisfied one necessary precondition for getting beyond it.

#### HARD SELL

At this post-freeze/post-Reykjavik juncture it seems that the peace movement can move in one of two directions in its Soviet policy.

Political tacticians such as John Marttila and Tom Graham, who produced the public opinion study on arms control commissioned in 1985 by WAND, suggest that the movement should concentrate on the public desire for arms reduction, publicly challenge the Soviet Union on human rights, and *not* attempt to address anti-Sovietism head on.

"It's counterintuitive, but maybe correct, that public attitudes toward the Soviet Union have much less to do with attitudes towards nuclear reductions than people think," Graham says. By trying to remedy anti-Sovietism, the movement "may be barking up the wrong tree," he concludes, based on his public opinion

studies. It may be unnecessary, and in any case is exceedingly difficult, to supplant and replace Cold War attitudes in America, Graham and Marttila believe.

This strategy has, in fact, already taken hold in most arms control organizations working on Capitol Hill. "We in the arms control community have a real problem," explains John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. "The policies we advocate quite often parallel

Soviet-American relations with nuclear arms reductions." To be successful, Wagner believes, efforts to reduce arms must deal simultaneously with the public's insistence on "strong defense and deterrence" and the public's view of the threat posed by the Soviet Union, which motivates the call for a strong defense and deterrence. "The Freeze dealt only with the fear of nuclear weapons," says Wagner. "That was the root of its failure."

Expressing the interrelatedness of pub-



**RED DAWN, 1984, directed by John Milius: The Russians have landed on our shores and, after four years of Reagan, Beatty's "Reds" (not to mention Kubrick's "Dr. Strangelove") is looking better all the time.**

Soviet policies. This means we have to distance ourselves even more from the Soviet Union, because to be seen as Soviet dupes is death in this country."

Isaacs believes that activists should continue to work from their strength—significant support among the public for arms control. "When you're talking about Soviet-American relations you're working from weakness," he believes. "The way to get improved relations is to get arms control."

Opponents of this strategy, however, point out that it fails to recognize that as soon as significant progress towards arms reduction is made, the organized anti-Soviet, anti-arms control community will probably exploit the public's contempt for the Soviet Union and torpedo an arms pact, just as the Committee on the Present Danger sabotaged SALT II.

"The whole premise of our project," says Public Agenda's Tony Wagner, "is that it is a serious mistake not to connect

public attitudes toward defense and the Soviet Union, however, does not explain how to bring about change in either. This is especially true when the attitudes are so paradoxical, and based on general ignorance of what constitutes deterrence and what is the true nature of the Soviet threat. What could be more challenging than to satisfy vague desires for arms reductions and reduced spending while still providing strong defense and deterrence, all in an atmosphere of distrust of the Soviet Union and hope that relations would improve between the superpowers?

Still, there is a way to begin. "The Cold War was sold to the American people," Pam Solo says, "and it can be unsold." Wagner concurs. "The public," he believes, "is looking for new national leadership that would seek openings and overtures to the Soviet Union, as we did with China, rooted in continued reliance on military strength but with the hope of putting relations on more cooperative

*continued on page 41*



## The Arms Race – Intervention Link

In October I participated in a peace movement delegation to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Iceland. Our group, which included Women for a Meaningful Summit and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, delivered an appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union to achieve concrete progress toward arms reduction. We also met with Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet Central Committee Secretary, to urge that the Soviet Union extend its unilateral testing moratorium.

A month later I was in San Salvador to attend the historic U.S.-Salvadoran peace conference, "In Search of Peace." I was one of 175 North Americans to attend the conference and urge that there be renewed dialogue for peace between the government and opposition forces. Our group also met with an official at the U.S. Embassy to urge greater action by our government to bring about a negotiated settlement to the war.

Is there any connection between my trips to Iceland and El Salvador?

At first glance it might seem that the two missions were completely unrelated. But the trips and the issues with which they dealt *are* connected. In my presentation before the Salvadoran workers and U.S. activists I argued for a holistic peace policy—one that includes a commitment to both nuclear disarmament and nonintervention. I argued that "the path to peace goes through both Reykjavik and San Salvador." The nuclear arms race and the war in Central America are products of the same militaristic foreign policy, and we cannot address one without also considering the other. Unless we challenge the underlying assumptions of our military/nuclear policy, we will never be able to achieve peace or an end to the arms race.

Chief among the underlying assumptions of American foreign policy is the belief that the Soviet Union is the root of all evil. We are told that we cannot accept Soviet proposals for nuclear disarmament because they are a propaganda ploy designed to weaken

our defenses. We are told we cannot accept a dialogue for peace in El Salvador because the Communists will use it to gain military advantage. In every arena, the response is always the same: the Communists cannot be trusted, we cannot let down our guard.

On nuclear arms issues, paranoia about the Soviet Union has so paralyzed American policy that we have rejected some of the most important and historic peace initiatives of the nuclear age. The important Soviet nuclear testing moratorium has met with complete rejection by the Reagan Administration. The sweeping Soviet proposals at Reykjavik for eliminating medium range missiles in Europe and abolishing all strategic nuclear weapons have fallen on deaf ears. We only hear the cries of Soviet perfidy and therefore do not listen to the plea for peace.

The same dynamic applies in Central America. When our delegation met with an official at the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, we listened to a diatribe about the Salvadoran Communist Party and the supposed communist threat. When we recounted the reports we had heard about continued repression, when we told of the testimony from mothers of the disappeared and trade unionists who had been arrested and tortured, the U.S. official gave no response. Instead, he pulled out an organization chart purporting to show that every independent trade union and human rights group in the country was run by the Communists. Respect for human rights, the encouragement of a negotiated solution to the war, increased efforts to aid the victims of the earthquake—all were irrelevant and secondary to the obsession with communism.

In our relations East-West and North-South, U.S. foreign policy is fundamentally flawed. Behind every conflict and problem we see the arm of Moscow. We are so blinded by anti-communism that we fail to see the underlying causes of conflict. We fail to understand that the most critical problems in the world today are poverty and injustice, not a monolithic communist conspiracy. Until we begin to address these fundamental issues of human dignity we will never find the road to peace. —David Cortright

*David Cortright is executive director of SANE.*

## DO YOU KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS?



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# Who's Cheating Now?

*As SALT crumbles, compliance studies sift evidence*

BY CATHERINE GIRRIER

**O**n November 28 the United States exceeded the limits of the SALT II Treaty by deploying its 131st heavy bomber newly equipped with air-launched cruise missiles. The decision to abandon SALT II, announced by President Reagan back in May 1986 "as an appropriate response" to the alleged "pattern of Soviet non-compliance" with arms control commitments, was the culmination of two interacting currents within the Reagan Administration.

The first was a deeply-rooted ambivalence over the utility of a treaty which the President had repudiated as "fatally flawed" and yet found worthy of adhering to (if the Soviets did the same). The second current can be traced to the 1980 Republican Party platform to end "the Carter Administration cover-up of Soviet violations" of SALT I and II and has resulted in an insistence on stricter standards for verification and compliance. Whereas President Reagan's predecessors embraced the notion of "adequate" verification, this Administration now insists on what it calls "effective" verification.

After some initial vacillation, the result of divisions within the Administration over its policy on arms control in general and compliance in particular, and prompted by some disturbing new developments, the Administration three years ago began issuing a series of reports to Congress on alleged violations of arms control agreements. The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency also published reports in 1984 and 1986. Another is due to be released later this month. There were Senate committee hearings on the subject of noncompliance as well as a leaked November 1985 memorandum from Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to the President entitled the "Responding to Soviet Violations Policy (RSVP) Study."

The compliance issue, therefore, has

*Catherine Girrier is a graduate student in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She is co-author, with Allan Krass, a physicist at Hampshire College, of the UCS compliance study.*



become a virtual institution in this country. Yet the issue of arms control compliance received scant attention in the open literature prior to Ronald Reagan's presidency. One of the few early, comprehensive discussions of arms control compliance appeared in a 1961 article in the journal *Foreign Affairs*: "After Detection—What?" by Fred Charles Iklé. Iklé argued that "injured countries" should be prepared both politically and materially to respond to violations through an assortment of means ranging from increasing military expenditures to taking restorative or even "punitive" military and/or political measures.

Some of the responses outlined in the President's May 27, 1986 *Statement on Interim Restraint Policy: Responding to Soviet Arms Control Violations*, are very much in line with Iklé's suggestions: "the implementation of our full strategic modernization program," the acceleration of the advanced cruise missile program, the continued pursuit of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), plus a political measure—abandonment of "the standards contained in the SALT structure."

Few people would argue against the need to respond to violations. The arms

control process would have little integrity and an "injured country" would have little to gain from arms control if the opposite side flouted commitments while it sat idly by. There is a wide range of opinion, however, regarding what exactly constitutes a violation, what is the military and political significance of various activities, and what is to be done about them—and the way we conduct compliance diplomacy.

The substance of the Reagan Administration's allegations as well as the manner in which it has made its case has prompted a number of interesting and useful responses from researchers and analysts in the arms control field. They offer critical appraisals of the compliance process as well as prescriptions for ameliorating the current compliance crisis.

## NEW, "IMPROVED" STANDARDS

Two comprehensive studies are about to be released. *Compliance and the Future of Arms Control* is being jointly prepared by Global Outlook, a research and consulting organization based in Palo Alto whose president is Gloria Duffy, and the Center for International Security and Arms Con-



trol (CISAC) at Stanford University. The book, to be published in mid-January by CISAC, is the product of a working group on compliance which began meeting in June 1985 and included participants from Stanford, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, RAND, the National Security Council and former SCC commissioners. The other study, *Disproportionate Response: The Politics and Practice of Treaty Compliance*, will also be published this month by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS).

Both studies examine the extent to which the current "compliance crisis" is a politically inspired event intended to discredit the Soviet Union and certain aspects of the arms control process or a manifestation of changes in the attitudes of the United States and the Soviet Union toward their respective treaty commitments. This has led the authors of both studies to address the need to establish criteria with which to consider compliance questions.

Several elements come to the fore which are also addressed in a number of other articles (see, in particular, Jeanette Voas, "The Arms-Control Compliance Debate," *Survival*, January/February 1986): inconclusive evidence which can result from patching together bits of information from a variety of sources into a partial picture which may arouse suspicion; uncertainty in certain measures of compliance; ambiguous treaty provisions; and the subjective element, including attitudes towards arms control and assessments of Soviet behavior which shape how one interprets compliance issues.

As these and many other authors readily point out, the American concern about Soviet treaty compliance is not a new phenomenon. Some of the current allegations are, in fact, old ones which have been resurrected because of new, "improved" standards. What is also new is the Reagan Administration's willingness to play a leading role in placing the compliance issue on the public agenda by going public with its accusations of Soviet noncompliance and by accusing its predecessors of having been soft on the Soviets. This is in marked contrast to the approach taken by the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations, which took compliance issues very seriously, avoided making public accusations and instead took their questions and concerns to the US-USSR Standing Consultative Commission (SCC), a body created under SALT I agreements for the confidential discussion and resolution of such problems.

Although some basic attitudes toward arms control were already well in place when President Reagan came to office, the change of attitude toward treaty com-

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pliance did not come overnight. David Sullivan, an ex-CIA analyst who became an advisor to at least four conservative senators, played a pivotal role, as did Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle. Momentum continued to gather as new alleged violations were disclosed: the testing of what appeared to be a second new Soviet missile, the SS-25, in February 1983, and the discovery of the Krasnoyarsk radar in July of the same year. It finally reached a climax with the shooting down of the Korean airliner in August 1983, which served as a catalyst for Senate legislation, passed by a vote of 93-0, requiring the President to submit an annual report "on the record of Soviet compliance or noncompliance with the letter and spirit of all existing arms control agreements to which the Soviet Union is a party."

While much of the compliance literature has tended to focus on the American side of the equation, these two studies devote considerable attention to Soviet interests and motivations. Of particular interest here are a possible gap between Soviet arms control decision-making and military practice (which might help explain the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar) and the importance to the Soviets of whether or not treaties, such as SALT II and the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT), are ratified.

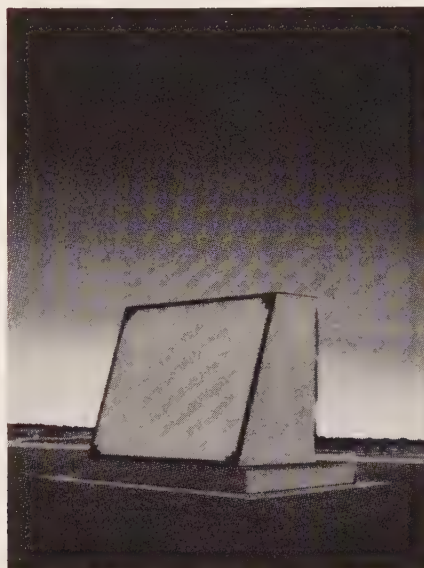
### THE BIG THREE

An assessment of the main charges of non-compliance constitutes the core of both of the soon-to-be-released studies. On the American side, the alleged violations boil down to three main charges: the construction of an illegal radar at Krasnoyarsk, the excessive encryption of telemetry (which disguises the communication signals from missile tests) and the testing and deployment of a second new type of ICBM.

Both studies conclude that of the "Big Three," only the Krasnoyarsk radar can be assessed as an almost certain violation. The radar, which is located almost 500 miles from the Mongolian border, is a violation of the provision of the ABM Treaty which states that early-warning radars can only be deployed "along the periphery of [a country's] national territory and oriented outward." All of the participants in both studies, however, agreed that the presence of the Soviet radar is not by itself a militarily significant violation.

On the question of missile-data encryption, the UCS study concludes that although the United States may have a legitimate complaint about Soviet telemetry encoding, the reluctance of both sides to discuss the matter in detail has made it difficult to establish the legiti-

macy of the case and resolve it. On the third charge the authors conclude that the SS-25 cannot be shown unambiguously to be illegal, under a strict interpretation of the SALT II Treaty, and cannot therefore be labelled a violation. It seems likely that the U.S. negotiators either overlooked or did not take seriously the obsolete and unsuccessful SS-13 ICBM as a candidate for modernization. The Stanford study reaches similar conclusions, but the analysts within the group had differences of opinion over the military significance of the encryption and ICBM modernization issues.



**Krasnoyarsk radar is suspect**

The two studies also examine Soviet allegations of U.S. noncompliance. Two serious charges which deal with the ABM Treaty stand out. The first, which could be interpreted as a tit-for-tat counter-charge to the U.S. charge concerning the Krasnoyarsk radar, concerns two brand-new phased-array radars being built by the United States at Thule, Greenland, and Fylingdales Moor in the United Kingdom. The United States contends that these should not be considered "new" radars but "modernizations" of radar sites which already existed at the time the treaty was signed. The UCS study compares this situation with that of the Soviet SS-25 ICBM: "While the Soviets have found a way to finesse an almost totally new missile because it happens to occupy the shell of an old one, the United States has found a way to 'grandfather' two completely new radars because they happen to sit on the same plots of land as two old ones."

In their study, the Stanford group also notes that the United States has deployed a phased-array radar system within its

own borders. PAVE-PAWS, as it is known, obeys the letter of the ABM Treaty, but according to Greg Dalton, research analyst at Global Outlook, PAVE-PAWS is "more militarily significant than the Thule or Fylingdales radars."

The second Soviet charge concerns the Reagan Administration's commitment to pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a project whose goals are clearly at odds with the spirit of the ABM Treaty. Although the Administration is engaged only in research (an activity permitted under the treaty), many high-placed officials have made clear their intention to withdraw from the treaty if current research leads to development of a deployable system.

### MARGIN RELEASE

It is clear that both sides are pushing at the margins of some of their treaty obligations, and that problems related to evidence, ambiguity and subjectivity are not going to go away. However, this does not necessarily mean that the situation is in a complete shambles.

Both of the studies mentioned here, and virtually all of the shorter essays on compliance issues, make a number of recommendations on how to resolve current and future compliance disputes. The prerequisite for many of these is a modicum of political will and cooperation, and the Standing Consultative Commission (SCC) is the most logical place to start. In the Fall 1985 issue of *International Security*, Sidney Graybeal, a former SCC commissioner, and Michael Krepon, who has written extensively on verification and compliance issues, make a series of recommendations to revitalize and make use of the SCC, some of which are: to stay within the SCC channel; avoid raising issues in the SCC until the United States has its facts straight; and avoid publicly characterizing concerns as violations until the SCC channel has been thoroughly explored. Others have suggested using the SCC to renegotiate or "update" portions of the ABM Treaty.

Much has happened in the past few months, not the least of which is the official U.S. abandonment of SALT II and the related abandonment of discussion of all SALT II-related issues in the SCC. While it is still possible to discuss concerns related to the ABM and other treaties, the atmosphere has been seriously soured. Although some effort will probably be made to resolve some of the outstanding compliance questions which currently face this Administration, we may have to wait until after the 1988 presidential election for a significant change in the official U.S. attitude toward arms control and any kind of constructive resolution of the compliance crisis. □



# Pulling Back in Europe

Working profile: Jonathan Dean

BY MADALENE O'DONNELL

For the last three years, the peace movement has taken the relentless deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles as a crushing blow to the goal of disarmament in Europe. Yet, if Jonathan Dean—known as “Jock” to his colleagues—is correct, these missiles in Europe may eventually be a thing of the past. The risk of a deliberate Soviet attack on western Europe, which these weapons were intended to discourage, “has become increasingly remote, so remote that it is now negligible,” holds Dean. He believes that European governments must acknowledge this reality and begin to “build down” what has become the most expensive confrontation in human history.

Bold words for an analyst who served as a delegate to the NATO-Warsaw Pact Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks from their beginning in 1973 until 1981—for the last four years as head of the U.S. delegation. Now, arms control advisor with the Union of Concerned Scientists in Washington, D.C., Dean remains one of the most respected analysts on the subject of conventional and nuclear forces in Europe.



Jonathan Dean

In his recently published book, *Water-shed in Europe: Dismantling the East-West Military Confrontation* (Beacon Press, \$7.95), Dean offers some startling conclusions concerning the future of the nuclear impasse in Europe. If progress in arms control doesn't happen soon, Dean predicts, European voters will support opposition parties that promise to disarm unilaterally. Coalition governments favoring complete nuclear disarmament, or at least unilateral removal of American missiles, could come to power as soon as late January in the Federal Republic of Germany or in the fall in Great Britain.

If elected, these new governments are unlikely to jump immediately into a policy of complete withdrawal of nuclear weapons. Most likely they will first press

for renewed arms control efforts. But the “shock effect” of their election on Washington would be immediate and intensify the United States' current frustration over European reluctance to spend more on defense. “Depending on the wisdom and maturity of the U.S. reaction” to the prospect of further reductions, serious alliance frictions, according to Dean, could develop.

Dean believes that some small steps to building down can be taken now and ease the transition to inevitable disarmament. A modest agreement to reduce intermediate-range nuclear forces is “quite possible” under the current American administration in early 1987 or under the next administration. This would be strongly welcomed in Europe. But in alliance-to-alliance discussions, NATO countries have made it clear that they plan first to reduce levels of conventional weapons in Europe.

“I don't object to that,” Dean says, “but if it takes years to get a conventional outcome, then impatience about the nuclear matter will fuel the general impatience to do something in a unilateral way.” Dean points out that 13 years of negotiations in the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks have produced no agreement to reduce or verify levels of conventional weapons in Europe.

The Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE), however, has enjoyed a sudden success. This fall both sides agreed on a number of confidence-building measures. For the first time in the post-war era the Soviet Union has agreed to on-site inspections of conventional forces in its territory. Both sides have also decided to exchange data on expected troop maneuvers in order to reduce fears of a successful surprise attack. The second phase of the CDE talks will deal with force reductions in Europe. Dean predicts that an agreement, while likely, should not be expected for years.

While anticipating overall progress, Dean is not optimistic about a single, dramatic arms control breakthrough in the near future. “Over the next two decades,” he says, “it is probable that the military confrontation in Europe will be further reduced not by a single rational policy but by a disorderly, uncoordinated, intermittent, gradual progress of attrition.” □

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## ARTICLES

**The New Soviet Approach to Security**, by Matthew Evangelista (*World Policy Journal*, Fall 1986). The author, a young political scientist at the University of Michigan, offers a penetrating look at Gorbachev's "disarmament offensive," including a discussion of Gorbachev's proposal for the abolition of nuclear weapons. He outlines the Soviet leader's probable response to a U.S. decision to continue nuclear testing and develop a strategic defense in space. The piece also explores less publicized corners of Gorbachev's diplomacy, including the growing attentiveness of Great Britain, West Germany, and China to the Soviet leader's overtures.

**Endless Generations of Nuclear Weapons**, by Theodore B. Taylor (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 1986). A noted physicist relates how our H-bombs could give birth to new generations of nuclear weapons of radically different design and function. New types of weapons such as "boosted fission," or "fission-fusion-fission" bombs, could achieve an unprecedented level of destructive potential. The author concludes that in order to lock shut the large number of Pandora's boxes yet to be opened, the nuclear powers should preclude the development and deployment of these weapons by passing a comprehensive test ban.

## BOOKS

**Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations Since World War II**, by John Prados (\$22 from William Morrow and Company, 479 pp.). This overview of the secret warfare that has taken place since the creation of the CIA 40 years ago has dredged up little-known information about current efforts to aid the Tibetans in their struggle against China, as well as an account of covert operations in eastern Europe and attempts to overthrow the Soviet and Chinese governments in the 1940s. The author, who has written widely about intelligence matters, also evaluates the effectiveness of paramilitary operations and suggests mechanisms for control.

**The Militarization of Space: U.S. Policy, 1945-84**, by Paul B. Stares (\$25 from Cornell University Press, 334 pp.). In this look at the history of space weapons research, the author explores why these weapons were never extensively developed in the past and why, during the

late 1970s, the previous aversion to space militarization was reversed. Stares, a research associate at the Brookings Institution, relies heavily on interviews with former members of the U.S. government and armed services, and on newly declassified documents.

**Securing Our Planet: How to Succeed When Threats are Too Risky and There's Really No Defense**, edited by Don Carlson and Craig Comstock (\$11.95 from Jeremy P. Tarcher Inc., 800-453-1906, 396 pp.). A good anthology, featuring contributions by leading "real security" analysts, which explores the seminal ideas on defense measures that don't involve nuclear weapons. Among them: a world peace corps, economic ventures with the eastern bloc, cooperation with the Soviets in outer space, and non-military means of defense. The three dozen articles have been reprinted from journals and excerpted from award-winning publications.

## REPORTS

**Soviet Geopolitical Momentum: Myth or Menace?**, by the Center for Defense Information (\$3 from CDI, 1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005). While the spectre of increasing Soviet influence continues to worry many in the United States, these fears are unjustified, concludes a study recently released by the Center for Defense Information. After 20 years of great fluctuation in the number of countries that experienced significant Soviet influence, the 1980s have witnessed unprecedented stability. By one measure Soviet "influence" stands at 11 percent today compared to 15 percent in the late 1950s. (The estimates of Soviet influence were derived from studies that looked at pro-Soviet attitudes and behavior rather than "Anti-American" ones.) The study suggests that the USSR has fared better in East Asia than in any other region, but did very poorly in Africa, and achieved a mixed record in the Middle East.

**The Pentagon Audit Project**, from the American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, 215 241-7173). AFSC has put together a convenient data base of prime military contracts awarded to private companies and universities. The automated data can help researchers compile details for studies on peace conversion and local economic dependency on military contracts, as well as aid the public in finding out what weapons systems or components are made in their area and whether companies in which they own stock are doing military-related work. The Project's reports of Department of Defense contracts are available for \$30. □



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# Women Seek Security Role

BY KIMBERLY THOMPSON

A search for a female name in the contents page of peace research and national security journals is usually an exercise in futility. For example, in the past year the number of women who published in the quarterly journal *International Security* numbered exactly one. During this period the proportion of female to male article contributors in *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, at 10:197, was not much better.

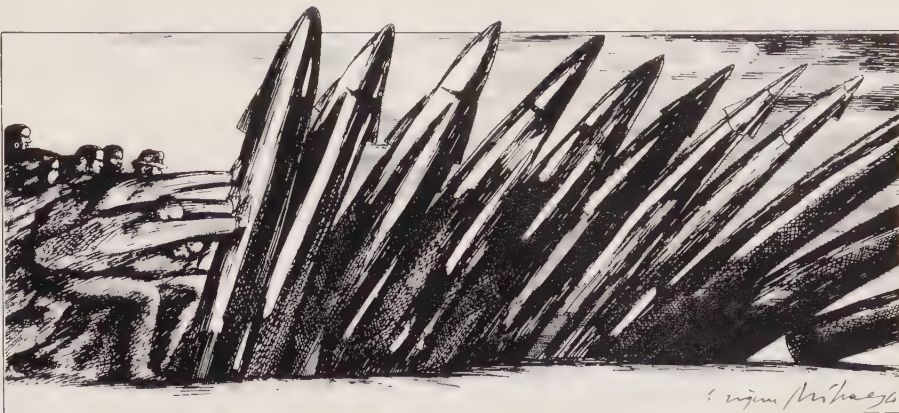
"So few women are writing in this field because there are so few women in it," says Nancy Myers, associate editor of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. "We contact the women we've heard speak or that have been published before," she said. "We do what we can."

To try to combat the current scarcity of women in the field, several programs have emerged recently.

The Women's Foreign Policy Council in New York City was formed in 1986 to increase the visibility of women as authoritative figures in foreign policy, as well as arms control and disarmament issues. The Council is compiling a directory of 200 female specialists that should be available in February. "If the information is at hand and accessible to the media and governmental departments," says Victoria Sanders, research associate for the Council, "I believe it will be put to use."

The Center for Defense Information's Women's Agenda, meanwhile, strives to promote the participation of women in national security matters by providing military information to individual women and women's organizations, and by publishing information of particular interest to women. "There are so few women in defense and national security policy-making positions," says Barbara Levin, director of the Women's Agenda. "We're trying to help women become more effective in preventing nuclear war."

A survey conducted by CDI in May 1986 found that of 1015 high-level non-military positions in the national government that shape national security policies, only 44 were occupied by women. Only one woman in the survey held the top-ranking position within an organization: Anne Armstrong, chairwoman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Women were concentrated in the public and legislative affairs departments, not in the more technical areas. ☐



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# Grass Roots Opt For Unity

*Freeze/SANE merger takes off in windy city*

BY RENATA RIZZO-HARVI

It was early and it was Newark, so when I overheard an animated conversation about mergers I chalked it up to MBA talk and went to sleep. But when the plane finally came and we were all whizzing towards Chicago, more merger chat drifted my way. By the time we reached O'Hare and the Holiday Inn, home to the Freeze Campaign's Seventh National Conference, it was obvious that the Freeze/SANE "Unity" proposal was on a roll.

And so it came as little surprise when, on December 6, 88 percent of the voting Freeze delegates cast their ballots to legally merge with SANE, and to pursue a closer working relationship with the Freeze Voter PAC.

On January 24, SANE's Board of Directors will vote on the merger. David Cortright, SANE's executive director, believes the proposal will carry. "This is the fulfillment of something I've wanted for a long time," Cortright said after the convention vote.

Along with the vote to merge with SANE came an expected shift in official Freeze strategy, which the group will carry out until the details of the legal merger with SANE are resolved, and probably (since it dovetails so precisely with SANE's agenda) beyond that. While the overall goal of the Freeze Campaign is still the enactment of a bilateral, comprehensive freeze, a phased, mutual reduction of nuclear weapons is now a priority. "These are concrete steps," the national strategy paper reads, "towards a vision of a world without nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Achieving the elimination of nuclear arsenals will require ending the Cold War, sharp mutual reductions in conventional forces, conversion to a peace economy, and establishing common security among the nations of the world."

## UNITED WAY

Before the conference, observers—particularly Unity Commission members—had expected the *Sturm und Drang* that historically accompanied major proposals for change in the Campaign. Many on the Commission did not believe that the merger would carry, largely because of the



LOREN SANTOW

Cortright, Cottom and Reynolds in Chicago

negative feedback they had been hearing from the grass roots. SANE staffers, on the convention floor in force this year, "came in expecting trouble, but found none," said a somewhat incredulous Esther Hill, SANE's national field director.

How to explain this turn of events? Delegates were no doubt emboldened on some level by arms control victories in Congress last summer, by talk of "abolition" at Reykjavik in the fall, by the unfolding Iran-Contra scandal. Cynics might suggest that the Freeze, beset by financial and managerial crises, was desperate for a change. But more likely the merger passed because, contrary to indications prior to the convention, activists had been given enough time to digest the idea after all.

"All that negative feedback was just letting off steam," one participant commented. "It was a therapeutic process." Richard Diesing, a member of the Downstate New York Freeze Campaign, added, "People were afraid of being swallowed up by SANE, but over the last couple of months they've lost their fear." (This is partially due to the "listening project" conducted in October. See related story, page 32.)

The push for unity was also helped along at the convention by Randy Kehler, affec-

tionately known as the "father of the Freeze." While Kehler did not officially endorse a merger, he effectively set the tone for one early on Saturday morning when he spoke of the need to go beyond the Freeze's current frustration to a "next stage."

David Cortright, who on Saturday was apparently still not convinced that the merger was a *fait accompli*, startled the crowd by briefly addressing the personality issues that have plagued his tenure as executive director of SANE. "I know I'm considered by some to be a power monger, a peace bureaucrat," he said. "I would've worn my devil suit, but I left it in my office. I come before you not just as a leader, but as a servant. . . ."

The few dissenting voices at the conference came mainly from Freeze Voter activists who were advocating the adoption of a Freeze Voter/Freeze Campaign merger before a Freeze/SANE merger.

"The attempt to force all parts of the Freeze Campaign into a merger leaves those people opposed to a merger with no home," said Tom Stephenson, president of Freeze Voter's Board of Directors. "There's a certain percentage of the Freeze who are inside the system, focused only on arms control. They're not 'peace' people." Another Freeze Voter activist added, referring to SANE,





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"I wouldn't join any group that has hanky-panky with the Rainbow Coalition. I want to work on arms control and nothing else."

The Freeze Voter/Freeze Campaign merger proposal, which was distributed to delegates shortly before the convention, seemed doomed from the start, largely from sheer lack of publicity. Many Freeze Voter partisans blamed the delay in getting the proposal to the delegates on a Campaign staff that was stacking the odds in favor of a Freeze/SANE merger. In addressing the convention, Chip Reynolds, Freeze Voter's executive director, warned that "we must merge the Freeze Campaign and Freeze Voter first because I think that if we don't we run a very high risk of having Freeze Voter off in one area and another merged entity off in another."

### MEMBERS OF THE WEDDING

Throughout the weekend, therefore, Carolyn Cottom, executive director of the Freeze Campaign, appeared to have one thing on her mind: reconciliation. In addressing the floor, she advocated a three-way package that would bring the Freeze Campaign and Freeze Voter together for discussions on how they might best work together before the Campaign formally merges with SANE in February.

A proposal circulating from the grass roots of Massachusetts entitled "3-Way Unity Proposal" captured the essence of the quest for unity, and by Saturday afternoon 150 voting delegates (out of approximately 200) had signed it. The proposal called for "acceptance of the proposed Freeze/SANE merger" and directed the new leadership "to meet with Freeze Voter immediately to work out whatever is necessary so that the three groups may be unified in a way which maximizes the potential of the Freeze Community."

During the hour-long "open mike" session that preceded the vote, supporters of the merger made the following pitches for unity:

- The combination of SANE's national structure with the Freeze's extensive grass roots can create an organization better able to hold the attention of Congress, the media, and the public.
- It's a response to inevitable change. In places where groups have already gone from a "freeze" to a "peace" focus, staffs and budgets have doubled.
- The Freeze and SANE already share common concerns and interests, and in some places have been working together productively for years.
- Money can be spent more effectively by foundations and private donors if one major peace group is formed.

The rare arguments against the proposal included:

- An individual Freeze movement will be lost; SANE will swallow the Freeze.



● The proceedings were stacked towards a merger; pressure to merge was coming from major foundations.

● The merger is a mechanical solution that doesn't address why the movement lost public support.

● "Unity" does not necessarily mean "merger," and management problems have many possible solutions.

On Saturday evening, by a vote of 185 to 21 (with five abstentions) the Freeze Campaign voted to merge with SANE and to begin discussions with Freeze Voter on ways to coordinate work.

#### BACK TO THE FUTURE

The next year is densely-packed with Freeze/SANE merger plans; the first National Congress of the merged entity is scheduled for December 1987. Few people, however, predict a storybook ending to the Freeze/Freeze Voter discussions. Chip Reynolds has appointed a negotiator to begin talking with the Freeze Campaign about their future relationship, but with the critical '88 elections looming, Reynolds and staff have repeatedly stated that Freeze Voter's priority is its program, not the merger.

Indeed, some activists are concerned that the bulk of 1987 will be consumed with the mechanics of putting together

a merged group at the expense of local peace organizing. Others are concerned that the Freeze Campaign—never known for its national presence (in fact, the group was unable to elect new national committee chairs for lack of a quorum) will "give away the store"—including staff positions—during merger negotiations with the allegedly stronger SANE staff.

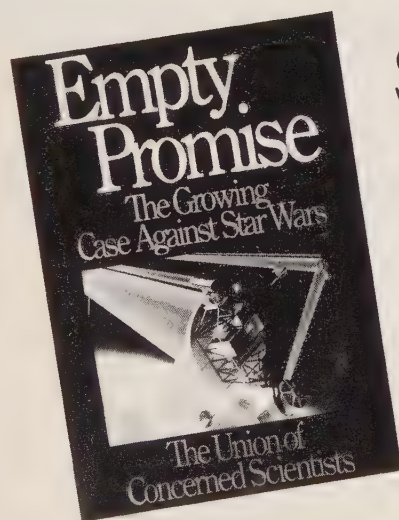
Then there is the fear that some Freeze groups will secede from the union altogether. Harriet Sobol, co-chair of an active Freeze group with over 300 members in Scarsdale, New York, says that while her board has not ruled yet, "there's a strong possibility that people will want to form a separate group. They hear 'SANE' and it makes them think 'fringe.'"

Until the two groups sit down and begin negotiations, details, as well as major decisions, pertaining to the merger remain very much up in the air. One obvious question is, who will lead the organization? Throughout the weekend, pointed remarks from Freeze delegates underscored their long-held—but thwarted—desire for new leadership, preferably "publicly exciting" figures. Bob Edgar, the former representative who was defeated in a run for the U.S. Senate in

Pennsylvania last November, was mentioned as a possible candidate for the top position of the new group. Then there's the question of where, and when, to *stop* merging. According to Cottom, there is already the possibility of at least one other peace organization joining the new super-group.

But despite the many unresolved issues that surround the long process that is just starting to unfold, the merger seems to have infused most Freeze activists with renewed spirit. As Randy Kehler commented after the vote, the new partnership does not signal the death of the Freeze, but its natural maturation. "We've still got the grass-roots focus, the democratic structure, a priority on stopping the arms race," he said.

No one expects the Freeze/SANE merger to automatically solve the problems that have dogged the peace movement in recent years. No one is saying that it will necessarily take the movement in a better direction. But the merger does appear to have given the majority of grass-roots activists a badly-needed emotional boost. And it has opened up a realm of possibilities that, if handled with care, may eventually lead to a strengthened movement and the realization of some of its goals. □



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# Anatomy Of A Merger

*The "unity" debate revisited*

BY ED GLENNON

**T**he SANE-Freeze merger was in the works for most of 1986 but the real debate began only when it was finally brought to the grass-roots last fall. "[We made a] whale of a lot of errors," says Andrea Ayvazian, director of exchange programs at the Peace Development Fund, which helped finance

because of traditionally weak links between local and national offices. When SANE organizers first began travelling around the country last July, they found that they were often the first to talk to local Freeze groups.

It wasn't until October that a "unity handbook" with draft structure and political proposals was sent out jointly by the two groups. The handbook included an



Activists at December Freeze conference take a leap of faith

the effort. "The grass-roots process should have happened months earlier." For this reason the overwhelming passage of the merger concept at the Freeze conference surprised—even shocked—most observers. But because many of the issues raised during the fall were not resolved, despite the positive vote, it is useful to re-examine the so-called "unity" debate as it unfolded.

A brief, overdramatized "Memo-Gram," strong on rhetoric but short on useful information, was the Unity Commission's first official word, sent to key activists from both groups in June. The Freeze Campaign's national office didn't communicate well with its network, partly due to staffing problems, but also

article by David Adams, a Wesleyan University professor and Freeze activist, which caused grumbling from funders and some Commission members because of its alleged pro-Soviet slant. But the major complaint from the grass-roots activists was that they weren't given either the time or the information to weigh the pros and cons of the merger. "Virtually everything that came out of the Unity Commission was a sales pitch," says Ross Williams of the Minnesota Freeze.

The Unity Commission followed up the handbook with a "listening project" that may have helped to save the merger. Some 25 organizers were sent around the country during October to find out what local groups were saying. Gene Carroll, one of two paid coordinators of the listening project, maintains that "in my many years with the peace movement, I don't know of such an extensive project in such

*Ed Glennon is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C. and a former SANE national staffer.*



a short period of time to get feedback from the grass roots," noting that over 100 meetings and conference calls were held with activists in 39 states.

Most activists supported the basic concept of unifying two similar national organizations, agreeing that resources could be more wisely used and duplication reduced. But the listeners got an earful about both the structure and political proposals which forced some late revisions by the Unity Commission.

The structure presented in the unity handbook was similar to SANE's—a board-run organization with an annual national congress added on, but given no specific power. The reaction, as summed up in a listening project memo, was "a nearly universal concern among Freeze activists that the democratic grass-roots based quality of the Freeze Campaign be retained in a merged organization."

Many Freeze groups were nervous that the Unity Commission process, and SANE's reputation, pointed to an over-centralized national organization that would take away their decision-making power in the national Freeze. "People feel like they're being asked to be a cog inside a political machine," says Commission member Pam Solo.

SANE itself was an issue. While many Freeze groups have a good working relationship with SANE, and find it to be a better source of legislative information and resources than the Freeze's Washington office, others view SANE and its executive director, David Cortright, as ambitious, manipulative, and unwilling to compromise. One local Freeze leader says that "people's experience with Cortright has been across the board negative," and advocates that he be barred from becoming the director of the merged organization. (Cortright says that "I want to continue to serve" after a merger, but "the Boards will decide.")

#### ROOM, WITH A VIEW?

The Commission responded to criticism in November with a revised proposal that looked much more like the Freeze's current structure. Instead of regional board members, there would now be one board member from each state. The national congress was given the power to "determine" instead of "address" the policy and goals of the organization. Other questions about the relationship between local and national groups did not appear to have been fully settled. How will membership dues be split? Will SANE's national canvass become locally controlled? On these key nuts and bolts issues, the Commission stated general principles, but left the details to be negotiated later.

While the structure was moved closer to the Freeze's, the political program is

basically SANE's. The central focus remains on traditional Freeze Campaign concerns—halting and reversing the nuclear arms race. But reordering economic priorities and ending military intervention are also part of the new agenda, and the Commission emphasized that "the goals of preventing war and furthering social and economic justice cannot be separated." Or as Cortright declares: "The issues are connected and you can't avoid it."

This broadened agenda could weaken the freeze movement by diluting the strong focus on nuclear disarmament, according to some Freeze activists. "We don't really think of the Freeze as identified with the peace movement," says Bernice Bild of the Illinois Freeze Campaign.

Other organizers are adamant that the Freeze's political focus *has* to expand. According to Mark Chaffee, there isn't a single group in Pennsylvania that works only on the freeze. Those who favor the single issue approach, he says, "lack a clear understanding of what an organization needs to do to succeed."

SANE's ties with Jesse Jackson, who sits on SANE's Board, and the Rainbow Coalition also causes concern among Freeze activists. Ross Williams supported Jackson's presidential candidacy in 1984, but today says, "I don't think the freeze movement will be strengthened by that association."

But Chris Brown, executive director of the Southern California Freeze, dismisses SANE's political agenda as a "false issue." SANE doesn't spend "all that much staff time" on non-nuclear issues, he maintains, and the national Freeze conference "has endorsed all those same issues" in the past.

Pam Solo believes that, if anything, not enough emphasis is placed on a political program. "We don't have a comprehensive vision and understanding of where we want to go," she points out. She agrees with many other organizers that the Iceland summit has changed the nature of the debate.

But despite all the complaints and misgivings, the strong pro-merger vote at the Freeze conference indicates that activists are willing to take a leap of faith. Andrea Ayvazian, who was as firmly involved with the merger process as anyone, denies that the unity effort was nothing more than a "save the Freeze measure." Instead, she sees it as an opportunity to "clean house at both SANE and the Freeze—to take what's good at both organizations and throw out what's weak." The merger vote may be only the beginning of the debate. The diversity of opinion reflected during the "listening program" last fall will continue to be heard as the transition period begins. □

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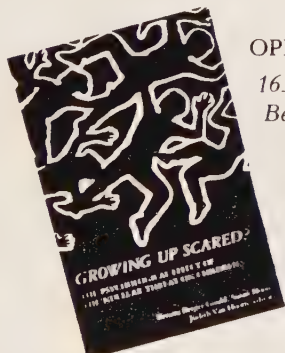
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BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

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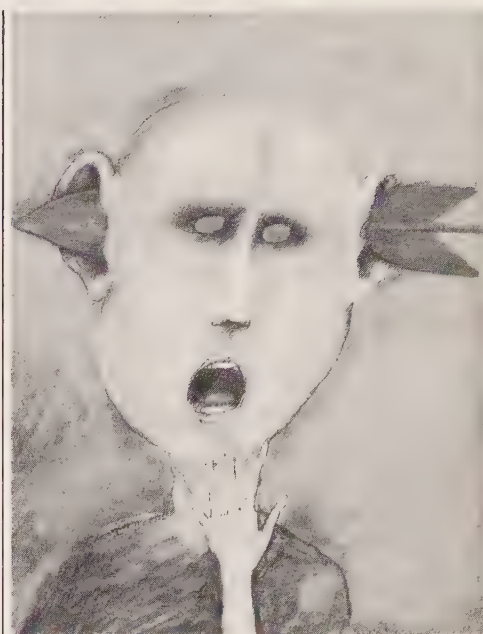
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## REPORTS

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# INTERACTIONS

## GROUP NEWS AND COMMENT



### EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

#### FIRST STEPS FOR U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR AGE EDUCATION

The young man in the ROTC uniform stayed after the assembly to talk to Dr. Valentina Mitina, a visiting Soviet educator. "Say, for example, you want to go to medical school," the student asked, "who decides if you can? Do you just have to pass some exams? Or do you get told by someone?"

The question was typical of those faced by Dr. Mitina and Dr. Gregory Dmitriyev, researchers at the Soviet Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, who toured six cities as guests of ESR in October. They found American students brimming with curiosity about the Soviet Union.

Thousands of elementary and high school students wanted to know: "Do you have drug problems in your schools?" "Are those your real clothes or did you get special ones when you came here?" "Why is your military in Afghanistan?" "What happens if students skip school in the Soviet Union?" and "Do you want to defect?"

The visit introduced teachers and administrators across the country to a major ESR project, "Thinking About the Soviet Union," that includes new teaching materials, community education programs, teacher workshops, and discussion guides. *Getting Acquainted* (for elementary students) and *Raising Questions* (for secondary students) are ESR's new curriculum guides to help students and teachers explore the complexities

of teaching and learning about the Soviet Union (available for \$7.50/ea. from the address below).

The Soviet educators saw first-hand examples of innovative peace education efforts in American schools. In a New York City high school, a suburban Boston elementary school, and an alternative school in Washington, D.C., the Soviets watched students learning to consider and respect points of view other than their own. They observed lessons in critical thinking taught from ESR materials.

Eating lunch with teachers in Chicago and during teachers' workshops in Madison, Soviet and American teachers com-



**Valentina Mitina and  
Gregory Dmitriyev:  
Visiting educators**

pared ideas for instilling social responsibility in students. In university forums, they discussed the theories and challenges of nuclear age education. And in Berkeley the Soviets were greeted by an audience of nearly 700 teachers and others at ESR's 4th annual conference.

"Drs. Dmitriyev and Mitina met a small but powerful group of American educators," said Susan Alexander, ESR Executive Director. "We hope that it marks the beginning of a long-term, collaborative relationship between

Soviet and American teachers."

For more information, please write ESR at: Dept. NT5, 23 Garden St., Cambridge MA 02138 (617) 492-1764. NOTE: "Amerika" Discussion Guides are now available for \$1.50/each.

## COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

#### NATIONAL MOBILIZATION ON CENTRAL AMERICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

The peace and justice movement takes a major step in escalating our opposition to President Reagan's policies in Central America and southern Africa by calling for a national mobilization to be held on April 24-25.

This mobilization is a potential landmark in developing our movement's opposition to Reagan's policies of rolling back the gains of progressive movements around the world. Linking the two issues of Central America and southern Africa will allow us to activate a broad cross-section of Americans to oppose the Reagan Doctrine.

Another historic dimension to this event is that national church and labor leaders will be initiating it. A call to the

mobilization will be released at a press conference they will hold in mid-January. These two influential sectors of U.S. society can further undermine credibility and public acceptance of President Reagan's foreign policy. Solidarity, anti-apartheid, peace and women's organizations on both a national and local level will be active in building support for the demonstration. The Coalition's Executive Director, David Reed, is serving as the convener of the national organizations developing the protest actions.

Religious activists are organizing a series of protests during Lenten season as a prelude to the national mobilization. They will begin on Ash Wednesday, March 4, with a civil disobedience protest in Washington to be led by national religious leaders. Similar civil disobedience actions will be held the following six Wednesdays leading up to the Easter week.

The national mobilization will begin on Friday, April 24, with a massive disobedience action at designated sites in Washington. The actions will culminate on Saturday, April 25, with a mass rally and demonstration at the nation's capitol.

Contact the Coalition at 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-8400.



## ADPSR

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility

### A NUCLEAR FREE PROFESSION

"As an architect, designer or planner, I do not choose to take part in the nuclear arms race. I reject the use of my profession's skills to create buildings and other facilities and materials through which nuclear warfare systems are administered, developed and produced. . . ." So starts the pledge form recently mailed to all our members.

We are aware that for almost every nuclear warfare system, there were members of our professions who contributed to the design of facilities in which nuclear weapons were created or housed. Sadly, it is our disciplines that enabled the building of the infrastructure for the nuclear arms race.

The pledge campaign is the first step in a program to examine and to raise the consciousness of our professions' involvement in the nuclear weapons industry.

Many of our ADPSR colleagues, professionals from all over the country, are signing this pledge—committing themselves not to take part in the planning and design of projects that are funded through governmental nuclear weapons programs. Everyday ADPSR is receiving pledge forms filled with signatures as members encourage their associates to join them in reaching the goal of becoming a nuclear-free profession.

For copies of the pledge form and/or more information contact ADPSR / Pledge Project, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.



Members of ADPSR from the LA, National Capitol and New York chapters joined with marchers and supporters on the last mile of the eight-and-a-half-month, 3,600 mile Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament on November 15, 1986 in Washington, D.C.

## AFSC

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

### MOVEMENT CONNECTIONS: SUPPORT THE APRIL MOBILIZATION!

For years, many of us in the disarmament movement have talked about the relationship between U.S. intervention in the Third World and the threat of nuclear war.

We have argued that the U.S. nuclear build-up helps to support an interventionary foreign policy by creating a "nuclear umbrella" for U.S. military action. We have stressed that nuclear war is most likely to start in the Third World, growing out of some "regional conflict" that involves the superpowers. Finally, we have said that our concern about preventing nuclear war must therefore go beyond efforts to contain or abolish nuclear weapons. We must also address the broader policies which the nuclear build-up serves.

This Spring, we'll have a chance to do that.

On April 24 and 25, a major mobilization in Washington will protest U.S. activities in Central America and southern Africa. Organized by religious, labor and peace groups, the mobilization will call on the U.S. government to end its support for violent and anti-democratic forces in these regions. It will appeal for U.S. support for peaceful, practical, regionally-based solutions to the conflicts in southern Africa and Central

America. You can get more information on the April mobilization by calling the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy at (202) 546-8400.

There are three good reasons for disarmament advocates to support these actions.

First, as the April mobilization's call says, U.S. policies in Central America and southern Africa "...are morally wrong. They violate fundamental rights to self-determination, liberty and justice. . . . They risk deeper U.S. involvement in bloody and costly foreign wars while the needs of our unemployed, homeless, farmers and children go unmet."

Second, we can't change U.S. nuclear policies without challenging the belief that our government has the right to wage war to "protect vital interests" in other countries.

Third, the April mobilization provides an opportunity to build stronger bridges within the peace movement. The "peace movement" is really a collection of different movements, each dealing with one part of U.S. policy: Central America, southern Africa, and nuclear weapons, in particular.

While there is some logic to this segmentation—the problems and issues are different in important ways—it can also limit our effectiveness. U.S. foreign and military policy is of a whole. Yet we rarely deal with it as a whole. One way to begin is for disarmament organizations to work for a successful mobilization on April 24 and 25.

Want to talk about how we can do that? Call AFSC's National Disarmament Program at (215) 241-7171 or write us at 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102.





PEACE LINKS

## WHOSE NATIONAL SECURITY?

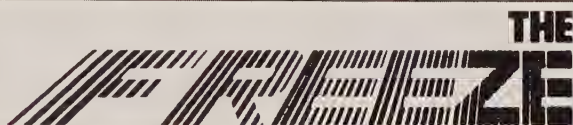
Although recent developments have again stimulated discussion of a particular weapons system, SDI, the dialogue which needs to be nurtured is about our national security. The folly of multiple overkill is demonstrated not only by the daily peril it represents, but by its ruthless theft of our national resources. When we define national security in terms of available megatons we avoid looking at the sorry state of U.S. health care, at the tide of mediocrity submerging public education, and at the diminished availability of research and development funds to re-vitalize U.S. industry and make it competitive again.

In a recent dialogue with Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist Kosta Tsisis, public health educator Howard Hiatt likened our bloated arsenals to megadoses of vitamins A and D. These vitamins, essential to health in moderation, can be lethal taken in excess. Tsisis observed that of the roughly \$50 billion allocated for nuclear arms in the current defense

budget, more than \$40 billion is used to maintain unnecessary nuclear arms and build new ones. That redundant \$40 billion would be enough to significantly speed up research and education to control the spread of AIDs; to provide drug, alcohol and tobacco abuse prevention and rehabilitation; to deal with problems of the elderly, and to provide care for our children. Four billion dollars, less than 10 percent of what we are wasting on nuclear weapons, could provide complete pediatric care for the eight million children who go without health care each year.

When we attempt to inform people about the nuclear threat, we tell them that although they are not experts on military strategy, they have the right and obligation to make choices about our society. Among the many citizens who have not yet chosen to become active in peacemaking are thousands who want an economically and intellectually strong America. We need to speak to these people in the language of their community needs. We must continue to pursue a genuine understanding of what it means to be secure, and how we can create that condition.

For information on the work of Peace Links, contact: Peace Links, 747 8th St., SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.



## GREETINGS FROM THE FREEZE CAMPAIGN'S NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

As a grassroots activist for several years, I can confirm that the movement is alive and well in many parts of the country. The 1,824 local groups participating in the Freeze Campaign continue to work from the conviction that each small step on the grassroots level brings us measurably closer to peace.

Still it wasn't a small step but rather a big leap from Nashville to Reykjavik, where I spent my first day on the job. Since its inception six years ago, the Campaign has focused on a bilateral halt to the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons as a first step toward major reductions and the reversal of the arms race. After the Iceland summit, though, we found ourselves in a newly moderate position. For the first time we saw the real possibility of major reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. The good news from Reykjavik: the Administration may be willing to give up large numbers of already-produced, already-deployed weapons.

But we saw something else at Reykjavik: clear evidence that the Administration doesn't want to stop the nuclear arms race. President Reagan wants to keep the production lines going. He wants to keep a trillion more American tax dollars flowing into the coffers of the weapons industry. The bad news from Reykjavik: Star Wars.

With the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), Reagan has promised us an Astrodome defense. This is a false promise. The President has told us time and again that SDI is a non-nuclear defense. Meanwhile, the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory is working to develop an ABM weapon that would

use x-ray lasers powered by small nuclear explosions. The President has told us that SDI will defend the American people from a nuclear attack. Yet Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson, director of the SDI program, has said that a minimum of 10 percent of incoming missiles would still get through. "Nowhere," he said, "have we stated that the goal of SDI is to come up with a 'leakproof' defense."

We are heartened by the dialogue which occurred between President Reagan and Secretary Gorbachev at the Iceland summit. We want it to continue. To that end we will renew our efforts to educate the public about the realities of nuclear weaponry, particularly Star Wars. We will continue to work with a coalition of national and international groups for a Comprehensive Test Ban. We will continue to work for a halt to the nuclear arms race and for major reductions in nuclear weapons. We invite all political leaders and citizens concerned about ending the threat of nuclear war to join in the effort to move closer to the peaceful world we all want. —Carolyn Cottom, Executive Director



Carolyn Cottom

For more information contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Ste. 120, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.



## SANE

### PEACE SYMBOLS

Never ignore symbolism. Events are not simple. Like a Star Wars defense, they are layered, intricate and, ultimately, not fully rational. The summit at Reykjavik, for example, which I attended as part of a joint American peace delegation, was a failure that offered hope; botched arms control that dramatically called up visions of disarmament.

I saw three rainbows over Reykjavik and its harbor—quick, sunny revelations of a town, a world, at peace. This amidst a primeval landscape of glaciers, crumbled mountains, damp winds, and broken volcanic rock beneath a thin carpeting of moss, that could serve as the movie set for nuclear winter.

To reach those fleeting rainbow visions of disarmament glimpsed so tantalizingly over Hofdi House will take serious, steady work. That is why the 1986 SANE Peace Award, being given jointly this month to Representatives Ron Dellums and Pat Schroeder at a gala ceremony in Philadelphia, is a fitting symbol of the year ahead.

Since Reykjavik, nuclear disarmament is now seriously at issue. And so we must move from prophecy to policy. A glance at previous SANE Peace Award winners—William Sloane Coffin, Helen Caldicott, Carl Sagan, to name a few—should remind us of just how far we as a movement have come. From a few strong, sometimes solo voices of danger and dissent, to a world that at Reykjavik watched and waited for results.

Together, Ron Dellums and Pat Schroeder have labored long

within the House Armed Services Committee, a Hofdi House of sorts, on behalf of peace. No one can accuse them of naiveté, of ignorance of the ways of the Pentagon or power. Yet their vision has never faltered. Imagine Ron Dellums—a long-time Board member of SANE—holding hearings on an alternative defense budget, then publishing a book on it, even as the greatest military build-up in history went on around him. Picture a woman like Pat Schroeder introducing into the panelled, male bastion of Armed Services an amendment to cut off nuclear testing. As the 100th Congress opens, we will undoubtedly hear of Democrats scurrying to the center, of the wisdom of Sam Nunn, and of the dangers of disarmament. And increasingly, as the Reagan era fades, we will be asked, as a movement, what it is that we would do.

A Comprehensive Test Ban and a carefully worked out military budget like the Dellums-Schroeder Amendment that points away from nuclear war, away from intervention, remain essential first steps. But now we know that they are steps both realistic and achievable. And it is not Ron Dellums and Pat Schroeder who have shifted over time, but American perceptions of peace and just how much is possible.

It is no accident that a charter member of the Congressional Black Caucus and a consistent advocate of the ERA and reproductive rights should stand this year for the politics of peace. Awards are, of course, but symbols of who we are and where we want to go. But through the gloom of the Reagan years, Ron Dellums and Pat Schroeder have given us glimpses of a parting of the clouds. Now their time has come. SANE is proud to honor them.

—Bob Musil

For information about membership, contact SANE, 711 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.



**WOMEN'S ACTION FOR  
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.**

### THE SOLUTION THAT MAKES US STRONGER

The word "disarmament" worries some Americans. When Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) first discussed its organizational name in 1981 some in the peace movement said "nuclear disarmament" would be a political liability. The early organizers wanted a strong statement of purpose and went ahead, following the example of the European organizations, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Great Britain and Europeans for Nuclear Disarmament (END).

Now, after Reykjavik, we are hearing about deep reductions. Is the term "nuclear disarmament" more respectable now that it is being used by both superpowers? Beyond the words themselves, has a new conceptual reality—nuclear disarmament—been acknowledged as a meaningful, achievable goal now that leaders in this country and in the Soviet Union have mapped out proposals for reaching major nuclear disarmament goals in the next decade? Are Americans now less fearful about nuclear disarmament, or any less confused as to what it might mean?

On the negative side, many Americans still believe that national security depends directly on the number of nuclear

weapons stockpiled in the arsenals of the United States and its allies. Our political rhetoric continues to inveigh against "being soft," showing a "lack of will," or "rolling over" for one's enemy, and that enemy is relentlessly identified as the Soviet Union. Even the youngest children are brought up to believe that the Cold War is a fact of life.

Secondly, the opportunity of initiating nuclear disarmament in Iceland was rejected by the Reagan Administration which held out for "pie in the sky"—vastly expensive new weapons that ultimately will lead to the nuclearization of space and a new threat of annihilation. Reagan has embraced his Strategic Defense Initiative as the technological fix for our nuclear arms addiction.

The meeting at Reykjavik did provide a brief vision of what is possible. It made the task of peace activists much clearer. Star Wars must be exposed as an illusion of protection, and as the first-strike program that it really is. National security must be redefined as incompatible with holding the world hostage to nuclear weapons. Nuclear disarmament must be explained to the American people as a solution that makes us stronger, not weaker.

To achieve all this will take coalition work on a new scale based on national strategies in which organizations must be willing to invest significant time and resources. After Reykjavik the vision is clearer—the next steps on the long, complex road to stopping the arms race can begin.

—Sayre Sheldon

For more information please contact WAND at 691 Massachusetts Av., Arlington, MA 02174 or call (617) 643-4880.





## THE DOCTOR IS OUT—IN THE FIELD

In this era of Group Health Plans and Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs), the image of the family physician going to a patient's bedside, black bag in hand, no longer stands enshrined next to Mom and apple pie as part of the American way. But, even in this day and age, some committed doctors still pay professional house calls. Most notable among them are the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

In 1987, thousands of PSR doctors will visit homes across the nation, from Anchorage, Alaska to Kanawha County, West Virginia. They will not, however, arrive toting stethoscopes, tongue depressors and thermometers. Rather, they will come equipped with slides, projectors, and presentations (not to mention some strong convictions). Fanning out into the living-rooms of their local communities, they will speak to groups about the danger, consequences and prevention of nuclear war.

Each doctor's visit will include a three-part slide show or videotape presentation. The introductory segment will briefly document the effects and the very real risk of nuclear war. It will also touch on the intellectual ability, the right and the responsibility of U.S. citizens—each and every one of us—to

work towards prevention.

The middle part of the presentation will address a specific issue in the nuclear debate, such as the Strategic Defense Initiative, a Comprehensive Test Ban, U.S.-Soviet relations, the societal costs of the nuclear arms race or civil defense.

The closing module will stress individual commitment, focusing on historical examples of how the American public has critically influenced major national security policies, such as the negotiation of the Limited Test Ban Treaty. It will also fully explain concrete actions that individuals can take to make a difference on the issues.

Above all, the physician-speakers will stress the urgency of individual citizens' committing themselves to weighing the relative merits of alternative strategies for averting nuclear war, and to making national security the primary issue in the 1988 presidential election campaign.

After President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev met in Reykjavik, nuclear weapons and arms control issues suddenly seemed more real, more immediate. "Ballistic missile ban" and "intermediate-range nuclear forces" (INF if you really knew the lingo) became household words. PSR is now seeking to take the dialogue and debate from the negotiating tables of Reykjavik into the homes and hands of concerned individuals. We are working to make "nuclear war prevention" not only a familiar phrase but a personal cause for every American. As physicians and as citizens, it's our responsibility.

For more information, contact PSR at 1601 Connecticut Av., NW, Ste. 800, Washington DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.



## WOMEN AND THE SUMMIT

For many years women and women's organizations have been in the front ranks of workers for peace. But they have had little or no role in developing government policies on war and peace. They are outsiders looking in and not liking what they see.

"The public, both men and women, have been asked to stay out of the nuclear debate, but women, far more than men, are told to leave it to the experts," comments Karen Mulhauser, director of a coalition of mainstream national organizations, Citizens Against Nuclear War, and chair of the coordinating committee of a one-year-old coalition called Women for a Meaningful Summit.

When the first Reagan/Gorbachev summit was announced in 1985, women leaders in the arms control movement looked around and saw little being done to bring public pressure on the superpowers for substantial progress at the summit. The women developed a plan to raise the public's expectations for the summit, by distributing masses of petitions and by forming a delegation to go to Geneva for the summit. As co-chairs of Women for a Meaningful Summit, Congresswomen Barbara Boxer and Patricia Schroeder, actresses Jane Alexander and Joanne Woodward, and civil rights leader Coretta Scott King agreed to donate time and effort to the coalition's campaign. It soon had the support of all six U.S.

women's organizations working exclusively for nuclear disarmament and peace.

Members of these groups worked energetically to get signatures on the petitions—over 150,000 were collected in less than two months. Women for a Meaningful Summit's statement of position called for an end to nuclear testing as a first step toward nuclear disarmament. "We view the increasing militarization of the world and the threat of an arms race in space as unacceptable," it said.

The women sought meetings with the two superpower leaders and with their wives, but only Gorbachev agreed to meet with them and receive copies of the petition.

A WMS delegation of 35 women went to Geneva in 1985 to publicize their goals. When the "pre-summit" was held in Iceland last year nine American and three European women were there to represent the 70 organizations and hundreds of individuals who have endorsed the WMS Statement. The addition of European women as delegates signaled the coalition's growth into an international organization.

In November Margaret Papandreou, wife of the Greek prime minister and strong supporter of Women for a Meaningful Summit, convened a three-day meeting in Athens of women from 35 countries. One-third of them were parliamentarians or ministers of their governments. The communique they issued called on the superpower leaders to take substantial steps "immediately to reduce nuclear arsenals and finally eliminate them." Women, Karen Mulhauser believes, are finally bringing "a new voice to the centers of decision-making."

For more information contact: Women for a Meaningful Summit, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7492.



COVER *continued from page 20*

ground in the long term."

A number of disparate, small-scale projects are underway to take Americans beyond the Cold War and anti-Sovietism. Many of these efforts fall into the category of "humanizing the Soviets": exchanges of people, art, and letters; space bridges; films and videotapes of slices of Soviet life; proposals for joint scientific missions to Mars, and more.

Other projects concentrate on promoting the intellectual understanding of the Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet relations that Americans must have if they are to support (or demand) leaders who will seek to "do business" with the Soviets. Organizations such as the Committee for National Security, the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, Educators for Social Responsibility, the American Friends Service Committee, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, and the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, devote many of their resources to educating the public and leaders about the Soviet Union.

Interestingly, most of these efforts are the products of individuals or small educational organizations. Major organizations with lobbying arms, such as SANE, the Freeze, the Council for a Livable World, WAND and Physicians for Social Responsibility have no "Soviet" programs, or very limited ones. Together or alone these organizations have been unable or unwilling to develop and promote a "Soviet policy," a platform describing what the U.S.-Soviet relationship should look like.

The task of leading the United States out of the Cold War and into "businesslike" relations with the USSR is so daunting that political and media leaders cannot be expected to blaze the trail themselves. Clearly, the major peace or arms control organizations must lead the way, and then encourage political and media representatives to follow.

**GOODBYE GOOD GUY/BAD GUY**

Fortunately, there is evidence that progress on a new course can be made. Leaders of many of the largest peace/arms control organizations appear to recognize the necessity of dealing with the "Soviet issue" and getting beyond the "good guy—bad guy" syndrome to develop a far-reaching analysis of the Soviet Union that transcends both the unjustified indulgence and intolerance of the Soviets that has hampered work to date.

Many seem to recognize the need for a hardheaded, independent analysis of international affairs and the adoption of

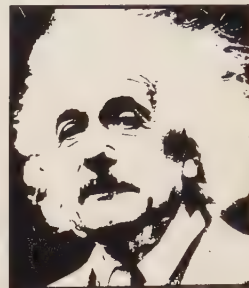
standards and goals to which all governments would be held accountable. From such a platform, individuals and organizations would criticize and pressure *all* states that violate the principles the movement supports—including human rights—and support states when they act in accord with the standards. Thus, as Pam Solo and SANE's Executive Director David Cortright suggest, Americans should be willing to speak out when the Soviet Union violates human rights guaranteed by its Constitution and its signature on international agreements, just as Americans should commend Soviet initiatives in other areas, such as the test ban moratorium. Rather than blind partisanship or nationalism, what Solo, Cortright, Bernard Lown and others are calling for is a commitment to open-mindedness and evenhandedness regarding all governments. It is these attributes that the Cold War has corrupted.

This effort to get beyond the Cold War will require engagement of the media and expert communities, as well as political leaders. To begin, organizations, or a coalition of organizations, could engage the counsel of those specialists who deeply understand the Soviet Union and see the need and opportunity to do business with it. Position papers could be developed and published through the press.

Perhaps more importantly, as the Committee on the Present Danger showed, appointments could be made with editorial boards across the country to spread the views of these highly regarded specialists from the Brookings Institution, Stanford, Princeton, and so on. Since ignorance more than anti-Sovietism may be behind inadequate coverage of the USSR, a well-planned "media education campaign" could succeed. The fact that press coverage of China changed dramatically in a short time should encourage this effort.

Among political elites, a similar educational project could be undertaken. The Congressional Roundtable on U.S.-Soviet Relations and The Aspen Institute's project to educate 25 to 30 congressional policymakers about the Soviet Union could be augmented, or surpassed, by a Washington-based effort enlisting leading specialists in the area.

John Marttila may be right. "Education about the Soviet Union," he believes, "is such a massive undertaking that only the president or the networks can do it. Any shift would require probably the better part of a generation." But the peace movement has pushed one reluctant President to Iceland, and could persuade others to reappraise timeworn prejudices. In any case, the last five years make it clear that there is little choice but to try. □

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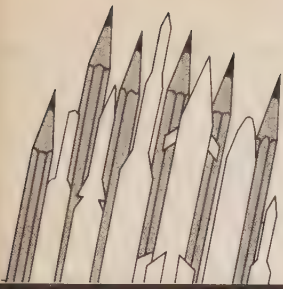
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# DEADLINE

**A Bulletin From the Center for War,  
Peace, and the News Media**



JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1987

VOLUME I, NO. 6

## **Public Knowledge/ Private Ignorance**

by Jay Rosen

**A** February 1986 ABC/*Washington Post* poll asked people to name the leader of the Soviet Union. Fifty-five percent could not come up with "Mikhail Gorbachev," three months after the Geneva summit had spread his name and face all over the media. The poll asked: Do all Soviet citizens have to belong to the Communist party? Fifty-seven percent either said "yes" or didn't have an answer. The poll also showed that one out of four Americans believes China is a territory of the Soviet Union. There was one bright spot, however: a healthy 63 percent recognized their own knowledge of the Soviet Union was "not good" or "poor."

Such admissions of ignorance—and the objective data which support them (see Table p.3) —suggest that reports about public opinion can be seriously misleading. This problem is highlighted in a forthcoming study of forty years of polling on nuclear issues. The study, covering the years 1945-84, is the work of Thomas W. Graham, a doctoral candidate in political science at MIT. Among his data are the results of about 100 "awareness of" or "knowledge about" questions, all of them involving nuclear weapons or arms control. The responses are ranked by percentages, the highest indicating issues people know most about. They range from 100 percent (those who in August 1945 had heard or read about the atomic bombing of Japan) to seven percent (those who knew in August 1984 that the U.S. nuclear arsenal is less destructive than it was 15 years earlier).

The figures Graham has collected show that people are frequently polled on issues they know little or nothing about. But the evidence of widespread ignorance doesn't seem to force a re-evaluation of the importance of public opinion or of the polling enterprise. The polls still measure opinion far more often than they test awareness, and awareness is tested more often than actual knowledge. Whether consciously or not, those who sponsor polls—including all the major news organizations—are creating the false impression of an active, eager public, ready with informed opinions on the issues of the day. Many people are documentably ill-informed, aware of issues only in the haziest fashion and often hesitant to offer an opinion at all.

There are three common ways to test if people know anything about issues. One is to ask if they have "heard or read" about something. This is usually done in order

to identify those who are totally ignorant, so that they can be excluded from the opinion questions which follow. A second method is to ask people if they have heard or read *enough* to have an opinion. This is a more reliable way to separate the ignorant from the minimally informed, but it is used surprisingly little. The third method is actually to test what people know by creating a mini-quiz. Such quizzes are rare and the results are almost never encouraging.

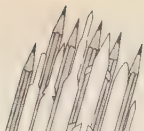
The responses to the three types of questions suggest some general laws. The first is that people are fairly good at superficially recognizing things that have been in the news. Over seventy percent have usually "heard or read" about current issues. For example, 88 percent had heard of the MX missile in January of 1983 (ABC) and 79 percent had heard of the neutron bomb in April 1978 (Gallup). Many people will voluntarily drop out, however, if asked whether they know enough to have an opinion. Only 38 percent of the respondents in a January 1985 Roper poll said they knew "a lot" or "something" about the MX. Only 34 percent said in July 1977 (CBS/*New York Times*) that they knew enough about the neutron bomb to form an opinion.

This drop-out factor has been particularly strong in questions about the Strategic Defense Initiative, better known as Star Wars. In November 1985, both the ABC/*Washington Post* and NBC/*Wall Street Journal* polls asked about familiarity with Star Wars. ABC and the *Post* reported that 83 percent had heard or read about the program. But NBC and the *Journal* found only 48 percent felt knowledgeable enough to have an opinion. This is important because the reason for asking a "heard or read about" question is to weed out those who have not given much thought to an issue. The ABC/WP poll under-counted this group by about 35 percent, a substantial distortion. It then went on to ask about support for Star Wars, dragging into the debate those who had opted out when given the chance by NBC and the *Journal*.

Another law supported by Graham's data is that tests of actual knowledge—as opposed to familiarity—show that many people do not know anything about issues they have heard or read about. Knowledge questions, however, are rarely asked, so there is not a lot of data to confirm or refute the proposition. Even more infrequently are knowledge levels tracked from month to month, although this is routinely done for shifts in opinion.

One of the few cases of widespread interest in public knowledge occurred during the SALT II talks. Four different polls from 1978 to 1980 found that between 72 and 82 percent of the population had heard of them. The percentages were lower in three Roper polls that





asked whether people were "paying attention" to the issue. Sixty, 62 and 65 percent said "yes," which implies that from 12 to 15 percent had heard of SALT II but weren't paying any attention. Roper also found in October 1978 that 42 percent of its sample could not identify the purpose of the talks from a list read by the questioner. Or, to put it another way, while up to four out of five people had heard of SALT II, two out of five did not know what it was.

The figures declined further with each inquiry into a "specific," such as which two nations were involved in the talks. Two CBS/*New York Times* polls in January and June of 1979 found that only 23 and 30 percent could correctly identify the U.S. and the USSR. The Public Agenda Foundation discovered in May 1984 that only 10 percent of the population knew that the U.S. and Soviet Union had both signed the SALT II agreement.

This inquiry into public knowledge, by far the most extensive ever undertaken on U.S.-Soviet relations, was not a test of arcane facts. It was limited to the most basic aspects of SALT II: who was involved and what the talks were for. Nothing was asked about the actual content of the treaty. Moreover, the polling occurred in a period when SALT II was routinely a front-page issue.

What the figures suggest is that widespread news coverage implants the name of an issue in the public mind, but it does not bring about even a rudimentary

understanding of the facts. Much of what journalists do is based on the assumption that audiences will "get both sides and decide for themselves." Opinion questions such as "What do you think?" imply that people get and weigh the facts, that they follow an issue and form an opinion. They seek to confirm the theory that news stories function the way they are supposed to—in short, that journalism works. In a more general way the polls reassure everyone that democracy is functioning: problems get answers and answers get voted in or out.

Seen in this light, knowledge questions are profoundly deceptive. In April of 1982, an ABC/WP poll found that 57 percent of the respondents had heard or read about the nuclear freeze. But in an NBC/WSJ poll the following month only 32 percent knew that Ronald Reagan opposed the freeze. Those in the same poll who said they were "paying attention" to the issue did little better: 36 percent knew Reagan's stand. "Get both sides and decide for themselves?" Most people don't even know the President's side.

When the inquiry into knowledge gets beyond simple familiarity and surface facts the results get a lot worse. This can be seen in a series of questions about U.S. policy on the use of nuclear weapons. According to a May 1984 Public Agenda Foundation study, 83 percent of the population knows that U.S. policy does not categorically preclude the use of nuclear weapons. Most

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| Knowledge Level | Issue   | Year    | Survey*    |
|-----------------|---|---------|------------|
| 100%            | Read or heard about atomic bombing of Japan                   | 8/1945  | MINN       |
| 99              | Know of the atomic bomb                                       | 6/1946  | SSRC       |
| 96              | Heard or read about atomic bomb                               | 8/1945  | AIPO       |
| 95              | Heard or read about hydrogen super-bomb                       | 2/1950  | MINN       |
| 93              | Know about Chernobyl accident                                 | 7/1986  | P&S        |
| 89              | Know of atomic weapons testing (Bikini)                       | 8/1946  | SSRC       |
| 88              | Heard or read about MX  | 1/1983  | ABC        |
| 86              | Know both US and USSR have thousands of n weapons             | 9/1985  | M&K        |
| 85              | Heard or read about hydrogen bomb                             | 2/1950  | AIPO       |
| 83              | Know US policy has not fore-closed use of n weapons           | 5/1984  | PAF        |
| 82              | Heard or read about SALT II                                   | 6/1979  | AIPO       |
| 80              | Heard or read about hydrogen bomb                             | 1/1953  | AIPO       |
| 79              | Heard or read about neutron bomb                              | 4/1978  | AIPO       |
| 78              | Know targets in Bikini n test                                 | 4/1946  | SSRC       |
| 76              | Know Russians walked out of INF talks                         | 12/1983 | YSW        |
| 75              | Know about US plan to test atomic bombs                       | 6/1946  | SSRC       |
| 72              | Heard about SALT II   | 6/1978  | CBS/NYT    |
| 72              | Heard or read about ABM                                       | 5/1969  | AIPO       |
| 72              | Aware Soviets spend more than US on civil defense             | 8/1982  | Sindlinger |
| 71              | Heard about NATO INF proposal                                 | 11/1981 | ABC/WP     |
| 70              | Heard or read about H-bomb                                    | 1/1950  | AIPO       |
| 69              | Heard or read about SDI/Star Wars                             | 9/1985  | M&K        |
| 67              | Followed Star Wars debate very or fairly closely [3 pt scale] | 2/1985  | AIPO       |
| 65              | Paying attention to SALT II                                   | 8/1978  | Roper      |
| 64              | Read or heard about Geneva arms talks                         | 1/1985  | CBS/NYT    |
| 64              | Heard Gorbachev proposal to eliminate n weapons               | 2/1986  | ABC/WP     |
| 63              | Know target for 1946 n tests                                  | 6/1946  | SSRC       |
| 59              | Know US & USSR are nego-tiating arms control                  | 7/1986  | P&S        |
| 58              | Identified from list purpose of SALT                          | 10/1978 | Roper      |
| 57              | Heard or read about freeze                                    | 4/1982  | ABC/WP     |
| 57              | Heard about fallout   | 11/1961 | AIPO       |
| 51              | Described how n weapons could be delivered                    | 3/1946  | NORC       |
| 51              | Heard or read about Atoms for Peace                           | 6/1955  | NORC       |
| 49              | Know a lot/moderate re START talks [4 pt scale]               | 7/1985  | YSW        |
| 48              | Know Japan has nuclear power plants                           | 3/1982  | Harris     |
| 46              | Know less than 10 nations have n weapons                      | 1/1985  | M&K        |
| 45              | Heard of Baruch plan  | 6/1948  | NORC       |
| 44              | Partially correct identification 2 nations involved SALT      | 6/1979  | CBS/NYT    |

| Knowledge Level | Issue  | Year    | Survey*     |
|-----------------|--|---------|-------------|
| 38              | Familiar with SS-20 debate [4 pt scale]  | 3/1983  | YSW         |
| 38              | Know a lot/something about MX [4 pt scale]                                     | 1/1985  | Roper       |
| 37              | Correctly identify 2 nations involved in SALT                                  | 10/1981 | ABC/WP      |
| 36              | Aware of ABM treaty  | 9/1985  | M&K         |
| 34              | Know enough re neutron bomb to have opinion                                    | 7/1977  | CBS/NYT     |
| 34              | Correctly identify countries in SALT   | 10/1978 | Roper       |
| 33              | Know conventional arms budget larger than n budget                             | 5/1984  | PAF         |
| 32              | Aware US has no ballistic missile defense                                      | 8/1982  | Sindlinger  |
| 31              | Heard a lot re NATO INF proposal [3 pt scale]                                  | 11/1981 | Roper       |
| 27              | Know Japan has no bomb   | 7/1985  | CBS/NYT     |
| 23              | Correctly identify 2 nations involved in SALT II                               | 1/1979  | CBS/NYT     |
| 22              | Know US policy to use n weapons if Soviets invade Europe                       | 5/1984  | PAF         |
| 21              | Know location of nearest fallout shelter                                       | 4/1982  | ABC         |
| 20              | Heard a lot re START talks [3 pt scale]  | 1/1985  | CBS/NYT     |
| 19              | Know approx. % of defense budget spent on n weapons                            | 4/1984  | P&S         |
| 19              | Know US does not have a "no-first use" policy                                  | 5/1985  | M&K         |
| 17              | Identified the term "fallout"  | 3/1955  | AIPO        |
| 17              | Know about ABM treaty  | 2/1983  | Finkelstein |
| 15              | Know SDI will protect less than 10% pop.                                       | 11/1985 | CBS/NYT     |
| 11              | Know it is US policy to use n weapons any time we or our allies are threatened | 5/1984  | PAF         |
| 10              | Know that both US & USSR signed SALT II  | 5/1984  | PAF         |
| 8               | Know US has fewer n weapons than 15 years ago                                  | 8/1984  | P&S         |
| 7               | Know the US n stockpile less destructive than 15 years ago                     | 8/1984  | P&S         |

**SOURCE:** Thomas M. Graham, "The Politics of Failure: Nuclear Arms Control, Public Opinion and Domestic Politics in the United States, 1945-84," PhD dissertation, Department of Political Science, MIT, 1987.

**\*KEY TO SURVEYS:** ABC—ABC News poll; ABC/WP—ABC/Washington Post poll; AIPO—American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup); CBS/NYT—CBS/New York Times poll; Finkelstein—Arthur J. Finkelstein, New York; Harris—Louis Harris and Associates; LAT—Los Angeles Times poll; MINN—Minnesota poll (state of Minn. residents only); M&K—Marttila & Kiley, Boston; NBC—NBC/Wall Street Journal poll; NORC—National Opinion Research Center, Chicago; ORC—Opinion Research Council, Princeton, N.J.; PAF—Public Agenda Foundation, New York; P&S—Penn & Schoen Associates, New York; Roper—The Roper Organization; Sindlinger—Sindlinger & Co., Inc., Media, Pa.; SSRC—Social Science Research Council; TBS—Tokyo Broadcasting System; YSW—Yankelovich, Skelly & White.





(continued from page 2)

people know that there are some conditions under which we would launch, but very few can say what those conditions are. The study showed that 22 percent realize it is U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons if the Soviet Union invades Europe. Only 15 percent are aware that the United States does not publicly subscribe to a "no first use" policy. A scant 11 percent know that our policy permits use of nuclear weapons any time we or our allies are threatened by a hostile power.

Thus, while people have heard of weapons like the MX missile, they know next to nothing about the policy which guides their use. But this is just a specific case of a general law: items in the news "ring a bell" in most people's minds. Beyond the "bell" there is very little real knowledge.

Despite this fact—which is no secret to those inside the polling profession—the polls continue to ask questions that are predicated upon a great deal of knowledge. In November 1985 the CBS/*Times* poll asked people their "opinion" on the question: will Star Wars work? Eighty-five percent answered ("yes" or "no"). That was the same month in which the NBC/WSJ poll found that only 48 percent had "heard or read enough" about Star Wars to even *have* an opinion. In reporting that 58 percent of the population thinks "Star Wars" will work (while 28 percent thinks it won't), CBS and the *Times* were creating a fiction—the mythical impression that most people know enough to have an opinion on Star Wars, when most (52 percent) say they do not. One is

tempted to say that there is no public opinion on Star Wars.

Lapses like this point up the need for new standards. People should routinely be asked if they know enough to have an opinion, giving them a chance to opt out of a question voluntarily. *Not to provide this opportunity will inevitably lead to misleading poll results.* More important, however, is that lapses like these indicate the necessity for the press to get serious about investigating what people know and don't know. It already devotes considerable time, space and money to the study of beliefs, despite the fact that the inquiry into knowledge is logically prior to inquiry of opinion. How can anyone interpret public support for Ronald Reagan's policies, for example, without knowing what people know about those policies? Why is the press not more curious about public knowledge, or private ignorance as the case may be, which, after all, makes a good news story?

Consider this: It is doubtful that White House strategists are as squeamish as the press in investigating public knowledge. They probably know what people don't know. Think back before the Iran arms deal: Was any part of Reagan's amazing success due to what his advisors knew about ignorance, attitude, and their interplay in the public mind? A gold star to the first reporter who tries to find out.

*JAY ROSEN is an Assistant Professor at New York University, Department of Journalism. He is also an Associate of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.*

## The U.S. Press and Neil Kinnock's Non-Nuclear Britain

by Ronnie Dugger

**T**he visit of Britain's Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock to the United States early this winter has focused U.S. press attention on the Labor Party's plan for a non-nuclear Britain, which challenges longstanding NATO assumptions about the first use of nuclear weapons and limited nuclear war. Press responses, both prior and during the visit, ranged from thoughtfully open-minded, to otherwise occupied, to righteously Americanist.

Kinnock came here primarily to explain his party's non-nuclearism. It's a fair presumption that he also hoped to reassure his fellow Britons that a Labor victory will not mean an American withdrawal from Europe. However, during his visit the American press was in a frenzy about U.S. arms sales to Iran and payments to the Nicaraguan Contras. On the TV news programs he often found himself pressed into service as a handily-available foreign commentator on that scandal. On nuclear issues, he received his most serious press coverage in American newspapers as a result of interviews he gave before he left Britain. While he was here, *The New York*

*Times* and *The Washington Post* neglected him in the news columns while giving him a few slams on the editorial pages.

Kinnock, 44, led Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the polls by a few points for most of 1986, but trailed her by a few in the most recent polls. She could call the next election for as early as May 1987 and has to do so by mid-1988. Of course, Labor may lose, but its commitment to making Britain non-nuclear is clear. This would mean cancelling the purchase of Trident submarines, decommissioning Polaris submarines, closing the American nuclear base at Holy Loch, Scotland, ordering out American nuclear cruise missiles and other U.S. tactical nuclear weapons, and prohibiting nuclear weapons on F-111 aircraft. Kinnock says that a Labor-governed Britain would permit nuclear weapons on U.S. vessels during their calls at British ports, but nuclear-weapons-bearing vessels could not be stationed in British territorial waters.

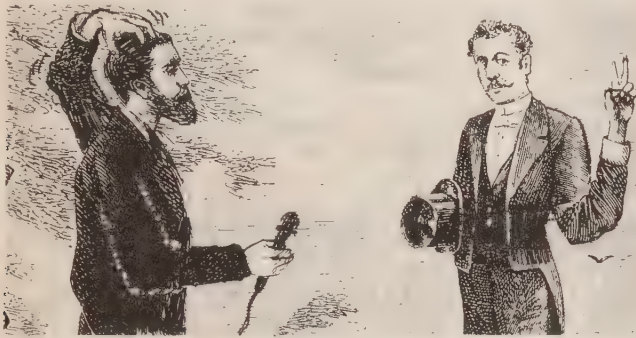
During his American visit Kinnock rejected suggestions that a non-nuclear Britain would be weaker militarily or that withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons would provoke U.S. military withdrawal from Europe. Everyone knows, he said, that nuclear weapons cannot provide cover for troops. He would use the one and a half billion pounds that would be saved annually by going non-nuclear to finance a build-up of Britain's con-



ventional military defenses. He argues that this shift would make Britain a more valuable ally.

Labor's non-nuclear policy is rooted in abhorrence of the mass-killing power of nuclear weapons. Taking the moral argument for granted rather than relying on it, Kinnock concentrates in his argumentation almost exclusively on geopolitical, military, and budgetary considerations. He seeks to convince people that British nuclear weapons do not make any sense for the defense of Britain.

He was given fair and serious hearings in a number of American dailies in advance of his U.S. trip. On Nov. 23 Joseph Lelyveld, the London bureau chief of *The New York Times* who has subsequently become the newspaper's foreign editor, reported that Kinnock "will try to persuade Americans that his party's promise to



remove all nuclear weapons from Britain could serve the interests of the Western alliance." Kinnock in fact argues that it would. Among Kinnock's more interesting remarks, quoted in this story: "We have never proposed or asked that the United States rid itself of nuclear weapons without at least an equal response from the Soviet Union."

A story from London in *Newsday* Nov. 28 suggests that Kinnock's policy presents a special test for reporters' fairness. Will they specify the unilateralism of the policy without elaboration, or will they give Kinnock a hearing on the point? In *Newsday*, Adrian Peracchio referred to Kinnock's plan for "unilateral disarmament for Britain . . . without requiring the Soviet Union to reciprocate," and let it go at that. Yet in New York Dec. 2, Kinnock, while agreeing that his policies do not depend on a Soviet response, also said that Gorbachev had offered him "a comparable missile reduction." As for whether relying on a Soviet promise is fatuous, Kinnock said that he wasn't doing so, and furthermore, "It isn't a question of trusting. It's a question of 'OK, let's give it a try.'"

Pre-trip stories in the *Wall Street Journal* on Nov. 24 by James M. Perry, and *The Washington Post* of Nov. 30 by Karen DeYoung, gave Kinnock a fair hearing, and Perry and DeYoung made a few incisive contributions of their own. Perry concluded that the Labor leader might be waffling on the timing of making Britain non-nuclear. Later, in the U.S., Kinnock said the process would begin immediately upon his election, and an aide said it would take, at the outside, three years. Passages in Perry's story bore further on this and other

gut-punch questions:

Asked if there were any doubts, any chance he would turn back from unilateral nuclear disarmament, he replied:

"Oh, we would proceed."

And if Britain was attacked, Mr. Kinnock said, a Labor government would never call on the U.S. to launch a first nuclear strike against Britain's enemy.

But, he was asked, might Britain not then succumb?

No, he replied. "We would obviously resist, but we wouldn't ask the U.S. to make first use." There are two superpowers, he noted, and each acts as a deterrent upon the other. "I don't think we are in a position to control that. It is there."

Karen DeYoung described Kinnock's unilateral disarmament as "Labor's proposed scrapping of Britain's nuclear arsenal and its call for the removal of all U.S. nuclear weapons based on British soil." She passed along Kinnock's pledge that "Labor would continue to devote 95 percent of the British defense budget to NATO-related tasks, with an emphasis on beefing up conventional forces." Her concluding paragraph was both fair and skeptical: "The concept of a Britain without nuclear weapons is one that is slowly gaining in popularity here. But neither the majority of his compatriots nor Britain's closest ally is yet convinced."

Another pre-trip story in *Newsweek* in effect constituted an argument against a non-nuclear Britain. Kinnock was given one paragraph for his aggregation of contentions, while the story also quoted "a top European desk official" in the U.S. State Department who warned of a weaker NATO, other "American officials" who warned the U.S. "would never leave U.S. troops in Europe without a nuclear shield," and "one U.S. diplomat" who said that Britain is the only European country that has "all the legs of the strategic triad." *The Washington Post* confined its editorial against Kinnock's policies to its editorial columns on Dec. 1, conceding that Europe can be defended without nuclear weapons, but doubting that Britain would pay for a conventional build-up.

U.S. press coverage of Kinnock's actual trip was virtually nonexistent, especially compared with the pre-trip coverage. The morning after Kinnock had addressed the National Press Club in Washington, *The Washington Post* didn't even mention the talk by the man who well might become Britain's next prime minister. It did, however, note that Gen. Bernard Rogers, the NATO troop commander, had said that a Labor victory in Britain could lead to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe, without mentioning Kinnock's reply in Washington.

Kinnock's visit to Atlanta was carried by *The Atlanta Constitution* in the "City/State" section, as if he might be a candidate for the city council. On Dec. 1 Kinnock met with the editorial board of *The New York Times* and answered questions at a dinner hosted by New York University President John Brademas; on Dec. 2 Kinnock briefed a dozen or so New York reporters over breakfast in a Manhattan hotel; that evening in Boston





he delivered the major policy statement of his tour. Nothing about any of these events appeared in the two great New York City and Washington dailies; *The Boston Globe* gave the speech a major build-up in advance, but its account of the event itself, while intelligent, was rather short.

Jim Lehrer and Charlayne Hunter-Gault of the MacNeil-Lehrer news hour caught Kinnock at different points on his tour. Lehrer was present at the press breakfast in New York City; Hunter-Gault sat at the head table during Kinnock's speech at the National Press Club. During the breakfast, Karen Elliott House of the *Wall Street Journal* asked Kinnock a question postulated on "an overwhelming Warsaw Pact conventional superiority in Europe." Kinnock replied that the idea of such a massive disparity was not sustained by "any of the respected analysts." Lehrer put in that Sen. Sam Nunn, "who is one of *this* nation's most respected analysts, feels differently." OK, Kinnock said, let's talk it through. When Kinnock said that the qualitative superiority of NATO forces "is an equalizer" in the balance of forces, Lehrer broke in to ask: "An *equalizer*?

You're suggesting that they are *equal*?" No, Kinnock said, and continued his comparison of the strength of the two sides. When Kinnock later appeared on the MacNeil-Lehrer program, Hunter-Gault used nearly all the time to question him about Iran and the Contras.

In a story at the end of Kinnock's tour in the Dec. 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, Peter Grier quoted him as saying that weapons of "mass annihilation, that would obliterate the means of life, are immoral." The same day, on *The Washington Post's* op-ed page, Stephen S. Rosenfeld wrote that Kinnock's non-nuclear policy has an "overtone of nuclear freeloading" and grates on the ears of Americans who already feel that "Europe has not been paying its fair conventional share or adequately supporting other aspects of American policy."

Writing in *The New York Times* of Dec. 8 under a London dateline and the headline, "Waiting for Lefties," columnist William Safire said that "note was taken here that Mr. Kinnock was asked by Gary Hart to attend Sunday's Giants-Redskins game in Washington." As it happened, according to the public relations firm which handled Kinnock's trip, Hart and Kinnock went to-

## THINKING ABOUT THE UNTHINKABLE: A WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

When Herman Kahn wrote his provocative book *Thinking About the Unthinkable*, the unthinkable was the prospect of a nuclear war. Now, 25 years later, a non-nuclear world has become equally difficult to contemplate. For a brief moment at the Iceland summit, however, before President Reagan backed away from the notion, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev considered a world without nuclear weapons.

In the West, public reaction to such a startling possibility was disbelief—and discomfort. Democrats and Republicans, military leaders, NATO allies—all have become accustomed to living with nuclear weapons. Evidently, so has the press. Except for a five-part series in the *Christian Science Monitor* (November 18-24), the press chose not to keep the story alive.

For those news executives who might want to reconsider the implications of a non-nuclear world, *Deadline* suggests some story ideas. We have divided them into three general categories: the process of nuclear disarmament; the effects of nuclear disarmament on military strategy and foreign policy; and its impact on the economy and society.

### The Process of Nuclear Disarmament

1. Which Agency Will Supervise Disarmament? How Will The Process Be Verified? How Long Will It Take? How Much Will It Cost?
2. Finding Creative Uses For Missile Silos.
3. Preventing Re-Armament: Making Sure Nuclear Plants And Production Lines Close Down.
4. Convincing Britain, France, China, Israel, And Others To Disarm.
5. Recycling Fissionable Materials.
6. Nuclear-Powered Electric Generating Plants: Newest Wartime Strategic Targets?
7. The Credibility Factor: Will The Public Believe The Soviets Are Disarming?
8. A New Meaning For D-Day: How The Last Warhead Will Be Destroyed.

### Impact on Military Strategy and Foreign Policy

1. How Will The U.S. Armed Forces Adapt To A Non-Nuclear World?
2. The Next Arms Race: Biological? Chemical? Conventional?

3. Impact Of Disarmament On The International Arms Trade.
4. A Non-Nuclear Military Budget: Higher? Lower? Unchanged?
5. Will Disarmament Lead To American Isolationism?
6. Disarmament And The Political Process: Could A New Administration Reverse The Decision?

### Economic and Social Consequences

1. Nuclear Fallout: Plant Closings And Unemployment In the Defense Industry.
2. Living Standards In A Non-Nuclear World: Will Americans Eat Better? Will Soviets?
3. What Will Anti-Nuclear Advocates Do Next? What Will Be The New Focus For SANE? For Physicians For Social Responsibility? For Paul Newman?
4. With No Apocalypse Now, What Fear Will Replace The Threat Of Nuclear Destruction? What Will Be The New Mushroom Cloud?
5. Will Birth Rates Climb With A More Positive Vision Of The Future?
6. Alienation, Desperation, And The Drug Culture: If We Can't Blame It On The Bomb, Will The Problems Go Away?



gether to Kennedy Center but not to the game. Nonetheless, Safire provided his readers with "what logic suggests is the essence of the Hart-Kinnock discussion." Setting the scene for the imaginary discourse, Safire mused that if Kinnock, "a unilateral nuclear disarmer," was elected, "farewell to NATO: the U.S. would not leave its 330,000 troops in Europe denuded of nuclear protection, and the resultant U.S. pullout would 'decouple' Europe from America." Safire then imagined Kinnock telling Senator Hart that after becoming Prime Minister he would back down on ordering out all U.S. nuclear weapons. Since Hart, too, "is eager to ban the bomb, having devoted his farewell Senate speech to a plea for the end of nuclear testing," Safire continued, "the rhetoric of Kinnock Laborites and Hart

Democrats dovetails (the perfect verb for this occasion)." Thus Safire closed out the response in the U.S. press to Kinnock's tour with criticism of imagined remarks during a non-existent occasion.

Kinnock plans to return to the U.S. late next February to meet with officials of the Reagan Administration and others. Perhaps by then the Iran/Contra story will have become clearer and the press will give steadier attention to the possibility and prospect of a non-nuclear Britain.

*RONNIE DUGGER is currently writing a book on the ethical implications of nuclear weapons. He is an Associate of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.*

## Anzus: Anti-Nuclear, Not Anti-American

by Dalton A. West

For almost two years now, a controversy between the United States and New Zealand over the presence of nuclear weapons in the Pacific region has soured a close relationship of nearly forty years. Last June, it led the U.S. to withdraw its defense commitment to Wellington. It was, as *The Los Angeles Times* put it on June 28, "an astonishing breach in what had been one of Washington's strongest alliances."

In recounting the events surrounding this crack in the longstanding Australia-New Zealand-United States pact (ANZUS), American reporters generally tend to see matters in an East-West context. Far more often than not, they link Wellington's refusal to let U.S. nuclear ships call at New Zealand ports to Soviet expansionism in the Pacific. As former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick wrote in *The Washington Post* on July 7: "In the same week that ANZUS ties were unraveling, Vanuatu (an island state in the South Pacific) announced the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union. It was the most recent of several Soviet successes in the chain of island nations known as the Pacific Forum. . . . Soviet influence is once again growing."

Two days later, *The Washington Times* offered the headline: IVAN WELCOMED TO PARADISE. The story beneath it read, in part: "New Zealand's virtual withdrawal from the ANZUS pact. . . coupled with other Russian moves in the Pacific, has threatened U.S. control over what since the World War II liberation of the islands from the Japanese has been an American lake."

On September 7, *The New York Times Magazine* pictured a Soviet sailor on its cover and rang the alarm bells once again. "For nearly two decades," wrote reporter Clyde Haberman, "Soviet leaders have been strengthening their Pacific fleet, transforming it from a relatively compact coastal operation into a high-seas naval force with distinct offensive capabilities. . . . Moscow has gone from one island state to another, extending offers of economic assistance. . . . The United States'

break with New Zealand over that island nation's ban on port calls by American nuclear warships has shattered the ANZUS alliance."

It has been convenient, if misleading, to refer to the serious difference of opinion between the two countries as the "ANZUS" dispute. This characterization is probably an unfortunate necessity: a necessity because most people recognize the subject only under this heading, unfortunate because it obscures the two central facts of the matter. These are that both sides have consistently and loudly professed their desire to keep the overall ANZUS relationship viable. It's their views on nuclear weapons that have caused the present rift; the debate is about nuclear weapons, not about the alliance itself.

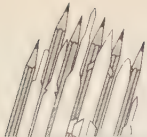
The U.S. media have in large measure failed to grasp that point. As a consequence, much of the discussion that could have and should have taken place has not. Instead, we have had a repetitious, often uncritical, and frequently parochial recounting of official policy state-



ments. The story has been developed primarily as a policy story rather than the political one it is.

There are a number of problems with the linkage of the ANZUS quarrel with Soviet influence. First, no clear relationship exists apart from an easily demonstrated and highly unsuccessful attempt by the Soviets to exploit the dispute. More important, virtually all the military and intelligence establishments in the region recognize the ample potential for outside intru-





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sion but do not regard the current threat as at all serious, increasing or direct.

Even the United States seems to have begun a basic re-evaluation of the dangers of the Soviet Pacific presence. One indication is an interview in *U.S. News & World Report* last August 4 with Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In it, he said: "We have some everyday problems in the Pacific, and we have to work very hard at managing them. But, over all, I am very optimistic about the long-term outlook . . . The Soviets are in real trouble in the Pacific. They haven't been able to make much headway ideologically or politically. . . The whole Far East—not just Japan—is becoming the most active, most prosperous market in the world, and the Soviets can't even penetrate it."

Another general characteristic of U.S. reporting of the ANZUS conflict is the concern that New Zealand's policies will spread to other countries in the region. Last May 6, for example, *The New York Times* referred to the "nuclear allergy" of New Zealand and the "campaign. . .relentlessly pursued by a Labor Party with cousins in other allied nations."

Without further amplification, *The Los Angeles Times* on June 28 quoted Secretary of State Shultz as saying: "I'd hate to see the New Zealand policy spread because it would basically cripple the ability of the United States and its allies." On June 9, *Insight* magazine, without additional comment, quoted a rear admiral who suggested, referring to Australia, that if "the infection spreads then we have trouble."

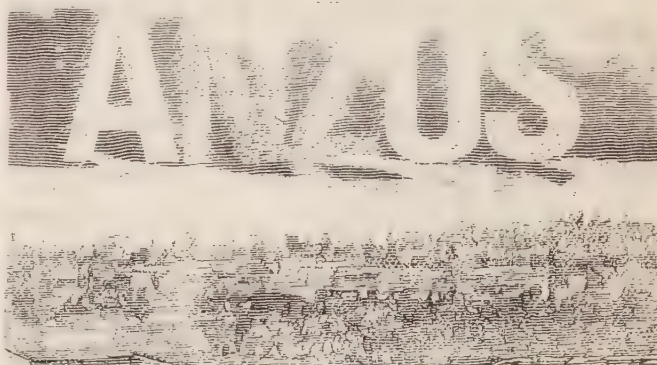
These twin fears—of the Soviets and the spread of "the New Zealand disease"—reflect widely held American anxieties. They do not, however, entirely reflect the geopolitical reality which is that New Zealand was not at all receptive to Soviet attempts to capitalize on the rift with the U.S. The Soviet offer of an exchange of warships, plus the offer of a treaty with South Pacific nations declaring the region a nuclear-free zone, was rejected by Prime Minister David Lange in favor of "self-reliance." Accounts of the way in which the administration retaliated against New Zealand over its ban on the visit of the U.S.S. Buchanan are also more illustrative of the narrow focus of U.S. journalists than of the broader issues involved.

*U.S. News & World Report* correctly reported on September 9 that Lange's action "led Washington to cancel a summit meeting of [ANZUS], call off military exercises with New Zealand, and halt the exchange of military information." *Insight* observed on June 9 that "Australia has been asked to assume some of New Zealand's military burdens in the region." There has been no subsequent report that Australia has declined to do so.

The bare bones coverage of the retaliation was correct, as far as it went, and was widely and consistently played. However, few of the accounts questioned whether the steps taken by U.S. officials were proportional to the putative cause. In general, the American press tended to blame New Zealand for the confrontation, with little or no reference to the role of American

policies.

As far back as December 11, 1985, *The New York Times* claimed, "The Lange policy has rendered virtually inoperable New Zealand's ANZUS defense treaty." Six months later, on June 4, *The San Diego Union* echoed: "The future of the pact. . .has been put in doubt as a result of Lange's anti-nuclear policies." Even if it is granted that the action-reaction sequence began with New Zealand's desire to change its defense relationship with the U.S., it still seems that the American media lost a major opportunity to make a contribution to the



wider understanding of the decision-making process in the U.S., and the political processes of both countries.

As told thus far, the tale lacks its proper context. The dispute must be seen against a background of worldwide concern for what is generally perceived as a renewed arms race, the broadening of the U.S.-Soviet naval rivalry, enhanced national feelings in the post-colonial Pacific arena and a time frame dating back at least to the end of the Vietnam War. And it must be seen as a dispute between two nations that still wish to maintain a viable, cooperative relationship despite policy differences in one (admittedly critical) area.

Finally, the context for this story must include a geographic setting that embraces the larger part of the Southern Pacific Basin and not simply the Southwest Pacific. It should especially include the countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). These six countries, which include Indonesia and the Philippines, control some of the world's most important sea lanes of communication, those lying between Southeast Asia and Australia, and which the U.S. regards as vitally important for itself and its allies.

Today ASEAN is seriously considering the adoption of a regional nuclear free zone; one of its members, the Philippines, is debating whether to include anti-nuclear articles in its new constitution. Will reporters analyze these developments adequately, including U.S. relations with these countries, or will they continue to explain them in terms of the East-West rivalry, simply as a further spread of the New Zealand allergy?

DALTON A. WEST, a New Zealand journalist, is currently a visiting scholar at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic & International Studies in Washington, D.C.



## A THANKSGIVING STORY

The Reagan Administration tucked away the announcement that it exceeded SALT II Treaty limits on weapons systems into the Thanksgiving weekend, a normally quiet time except for all the media hoopla over the Iran arms scandal. The timing suggests the Administration hoped the announcement would receive scant attention. Did it? In a survey of sixteen major media

regularly monitored by the Center, the result is a range of responses. *Newsweek* did not report the story at all in its issue of December 8; *The San Diego Union* published two lead stories totalling 52 column inches, and ABC's "World News Tonight" unleashed a four-minute blast at the Administration's action.

Below is a summary of the media coverage.

| NETWORK, NEWSPAPER OR NEWS MAGAZINE, REPORTER, AND DATE                                  | RANK AND FORMAT                                 | LENGTH<br>(in minutes or column inches) | FOOTAGE OR PHOTO |
|--|---|---|------------------|
| ABC, Tom Jarriel, Rick Inderfurth, and Walter Rodgers, 11/28/86                          | Fourth story                                    | 4:00                                    | yes              |
| CBS, Charles Kuralt and Bill McLaughlin, 11/28/86  | Lead story                                      | 2:10                                    | yes              |
| NBC, Connie Chung, 11/28/86  | Fourth story                                    | 0:50                                    | no               |
| <i>Boston Globe</i> , Jim Adams and Reuters, 11/29/86                                    | Page one above fold                             | 19"                                     | yes              |
| <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , Thom Shanker, 11/29/86  | Page one below fold                             | 12½"                                    | yes              |
| <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , William J. Eaton, Rone Tempest, and Norman Kempster, 11/29/86 | Lead story, companion story above fold          | 44½"                                    | yes              |
| <i>The New York Times</i> , Michael Gordon and AP, 11/29/86                              | Lead story, companion story p. 7                | 28½"                                    | yes              |
| <i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i> , Steve Goldstein and Mark Thompson, 11/29/86               | Page one below fold, companion story below fold | 33"                                     | yes              |
| <i>San Diego Union</i> , News Services, 11/29/86   | Lead story, companion story above fold          | 52"                                     | yes              |
| <i>USA Today</i> , Paul Leavitt, 11/28/86*   | Lead of 9 items in "Capitol Line" column        | 5"                                      | yes              |
| <i>Wall Street Journal</i> , Editorial Page Editors, 12/2/86*                            | Editorial Page                                  | 16½"                                    | no               |
| <i>Washington Post</i> , Richard M. Weintraub and News Services, 11/29/86                | Page one above fold                             | 34"                                     | yes              |
| <i>Washington Times</i> , no byline, 12/1/86*  | Second of 6 items in "Briefly/Nation" column    | 3½"                                     | no               |
| <i>Newsweek</i> , 12/8/86  | No coverage                                     |   |                  |
| <i>Time</i> , no byline, 12/8/86   | Page 43 in "Nation" section                     | 9¼"                                     | no               |
| <i>U.S. News and World Report</i> , Robert J. Shapiro, 12/8/86                           | Lead of 7 items in "Worldgram" column           | 6"                                      | no               |

\**USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Times* do not publish Saturday editions, the day of the week this story appeared. *The Wall Street Journal* carried nothing on the SALT II violation on Friday November 28, nor on Monday December 1. *The Washington Times* carried nothing on Friday November 28. *USA Today* ran a second story on December 1 of approximately the same length as the first.

This chart was compiled by Kimberly Otis of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.





## LETTERS

*Deadline welcomes letters from readers. All correspondence may be edited for clarity and length.*

### CORRESPONDENT DANILOFF

To The Editor:

Permit me to register a strong disagreement with your article in your November/December issue, "A Closer Look at 'Hard-working,' 'Exemplary' Nicholas Daniloff."

In the circle of Moscow correspondents—and we frequently met and discussed various issues either in formal briefings or at the embassy's snackbar or at parties—Nick was a colleague who consistently displayed fair-mindedness, sound judgment, and an excellent knowledge of Russia.



I do not know how one can adequately judge a news magazine correspondent, because, as you say, the work of such correspondents "is a refined product that bears the stamp of many hands." But I hope the following episode would make you reassess your harsh judgment on Daniloff's work.

In December 1984, Nick had obtained a copy of a detailed and well documented Soviet analysis of Reagan's Star Wars program. It was not a secret document, yet only he had managed to obtain it. For

reasons I do not know, his editors were not interested in it, although Nick had tried for two weeks to get the story in the magazine. Nick came to my office in the first week of January 1985 with a batch of letters he wanted me to mail for him from Switzerland. He also offered me a copy of the document. I was on my way to cover the summit meeting between Secretary of State Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. I took the document but promised not to write about it before Sunday. Nick was still hoping the magazine would use his piece that week. I read it on the plane to Geneva and found it exceptionally interesting. My colleague Don Oberdorfer, who arrived from Washington to cover the meeting, shared my assessment. The issue of Star Wars was bound to dominate the Shultz-Gromyko talks. On Sunday, Oberdorfer and I wrote the exclusive story which hit the front page of *The Washington Post* and the *International Herald Tribune*. I told my editors in Washington that I had received the document from Nick Daniloff—not from the Russians. Could we say so in the story, my editors asked? No, I said. From Geneva I could not reach Nick by phone to ask him whether we could name him in our story. So we fuzzed the issue. But all my colleagues assumed that I was the recipient of a Soviet leak whose timing was exquisite—the story appeared on Monday as Shultz and Gromyko were preparing for their first session. The *Post* got all credit for the story—credit which should have gone to Daniloff.

Dusko Doder  
*The Washington Post*,  
Washington, D.C.

*DUSKO DODER was Moscow Bureau chief of The Washington Post from 1981 to 1985, and Moscow correspondent for United Press International from 1968 to 1971.*

To The Editor:

The article by Tony Kaye and Robert Karl Manoff about Nicholas Daniloff was one of the most curious I have read about the whole affair. One gathers you are not happy with American news coverage of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, one gathers that the whole fault lies with the American media. Be that as it may. What perplexes me, however, is that because Nicholas Daniloff has also written things you are unhappy with, the tone of your article leaves the reader with the impression that since he was not such a good journalist after all, there should not have been the fuss about his arrest and while you don't say this, you leave the impression that it would have been just as well if he were still in prison.

Now I know you condemn the arrest and I know that in your heart of hearts you would certainly not condone his being arrested, but since you specialize in your bulletin in the nuances of wording and of the media, you certainly must be sophisticated enough to know that your article creates exactly the kind of subliminal message that you condemn so often. It seems to me that it is a shameful piece of work.

Marshall I. Goldman  
Associate Director  
Russian Research Center  
Harvard University

To The Editor:

Your critique of Nicholas Daniloff reflects not the slightest understanding of working conditions either in Moscow or at an American news magazine. If you want to travel in the Soviet Union, you are at the mercy of the authorities, and they have a standard itinerary. Call it "Moscow-bureau boilerplate" if you will; a reporter is called on to report on what he sees, even if his vision is limited.



To pick out adjectives from a five-year body of reportage and ridicule them—as “steely-eyed” for KGB troops—is really beneath the dignity of serious press criticism. And to suggest that his reporting “was at best indistinguishable from the rest of the Moscow packs” is to slight both Daniloff and a U.S. press corps that is of pretty high caliber.

Daniloff was not a perfect correspondent. Even if he was, by the time his reportage filtered through the news magazine editing and rewrite process it would certainly be diluted. As a former Moscow correspondent, I would urge you to reread your piece and ask yourselves whether it is fair to Nick and your readers. It strikes me as totally gratuitous.

Lars-Erik Nelson  
Washington Bureau Chief  
*New York Daily News*

LARS-ERIK NELSON was stationed in Moscow from 1967–69, reporting for Reuters.

Robert Karl Manoff and Tony Kaye  
reply:

Marshall I. Goldman confuses discourse with disloyalty. We reviewed Nicholas Daniloff's work for *U.S. News* not in order to serve Soviet purposes but American ones. Those defending Daniloff after his arrest put the question of the quality of his reporting on the national agenda. Moreover, claims made on behalf of his “exemplary” reporting were also judgments about the work of the rest of the press corps and about the possibilities of American journalism itself in the Soviet Union. Those are significant judgments and they suggest what Americans have the right to expect of their Moscow press corps. Given the importance of U.S.-Soviet relations in the American political culture, there can be little that is more important for those interested in the future of democratic process than to examine these claims. We did, and found them wanting.

Yes, of course, reporters in the Soviet Union encounter real obstacles in pursuit of their craft, as Nicholas Daniloff undoubtedly did during his years there. But inadequacies in the reporting cannot be entirely explained away by blaming them on the Soviets. For with all the difficulties they face, there are nevertheless journalists who excel: William J. Eaton of *The Los Angeles Times*, Serge Schmemmann of *The New York Times*, Martin Walker of the *Guardian*, and Sammy Rachlin from Danish television are among these who have done praiseworthy work. What characterizes such work? We are looking intensively at this question. For now, suffice it to say that such reporting is complex, sophisticated, free of cant and the routine Homeric epithets (yes, “steely-eyed” KGB) that make stories easy to write but worthless to read.

The quality of Daniloff's reporting was clearly an issue between him and his employer. His defenders report that he did good work that was ignored or fiddled with by his editors. Others have said that before his arrest he was on his way out at *U.S. News* (subsequently denied by officials of that company). Daniloff's supporters and detractors clearly disagree about who was to blame for the quality of the reports that were published under his byline. But he worked for the magazine for a half a decade, and in the final analysis he must be held accountable for the overall quality of what he allowed to be presented in his name.

Finally, those who wish to sample the kind of work that American readers have the right to expect from the Moscow press corps should pick up Dusko Doder's new book, *Shadows and Whispers: Power Politics Inside the Kremlin from Brezhnev to Gorbachev* (Random House). Both this book and Doder's day-to-day work in Moscow at the time make it clear that it is possible to do first-rate reporting of the Soviet Union.

Doder is also clear about why reporters sometimes fail. As he writes in the book, “All too frequently in

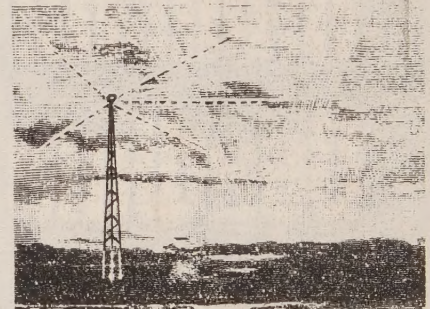
Moscow we tended to view the world in simple terms—we and they—and the instinct to go with our pack was occasionally so strong that it overruled judgment and experience.” That about sums up what we found when we read the Daniloff file.

## PACIFICA RADIO: THE PEACE STATION

To The Editor:

I am writing regarding an article in the September/October issue entitled “Local Coverage of Peace Issues Outshines the National Press.” While I have no quarrel with the intent of the article, I am surprised that you failed to even mention Pacifica Radio. Here is just a sampling of Pacifica's relationship to peace issues:

1. Pacifica was founded in 1946, by pacifists, for the purpose of creating “peace and understanding among all people” (Articles of Incorporation). No other American broadcaster has such a purpose.

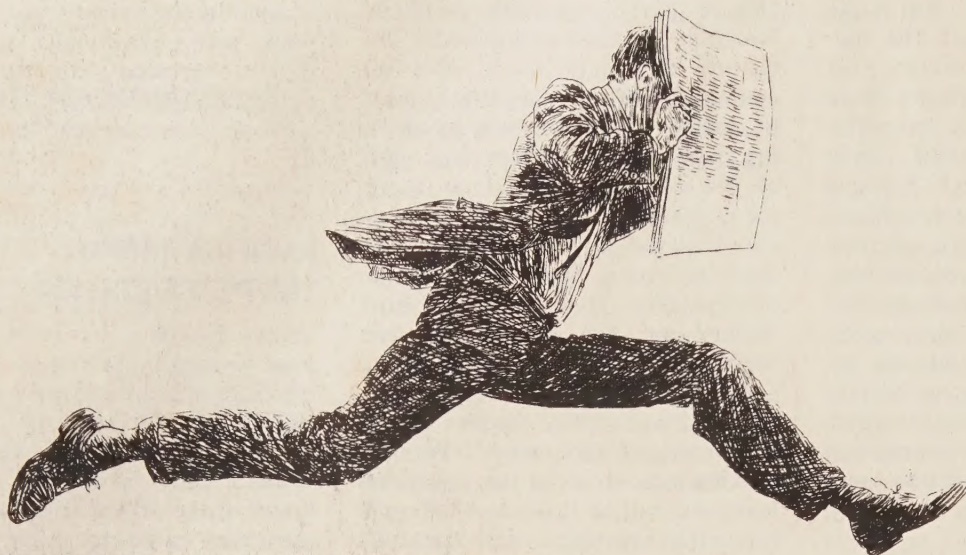


2. In 1982, Pacifica broadcast the June 12th demonstration live on the satellite, six hours of in-depth interviews; no other broadcast media gave more than a 90 second story.

3. This year, Pacifica Radio followed The Great Peace March from Los Angeles to New York, including a live broadcast of the New York arrival recently on WBAI/Pacifica, the Pacifica station in New York. In the early and troubled days of the march, organizers credit KPFFK/Pacifica with helping to keep the march alive.

Sharon Maeda  
Chief Executive Officer  
Pacifica Radio





## The Ultimate Deadline Is Upon Us...

No subject covered by the press is more urgent than the arms race. But the public's confusion suggests that the coverage is not good enough. What can be done to make it better? What stories does the press get wrong, or miss entirely? What can be done to improve the coverage of arms control and the peace movement? Of the next summit? Of "Star Wars"?

### NEW YORK UNIVERSITY'S CENTER FOR WAR, PEACE, AND THE NEWS MEDIA

tries to answer these and many other questions by evaluating the reporting and suggesting ways to improve it. We hope to help the press do a better job by holding it up to scrutiny in *Deadline*, a new bi-monthly newsletter of research, analysis and opinion. We hope you will become a Center Member at an annual cost of only \$25 for individuals and \$50 for institutions. In addition to *Deadline*, members receive invitations to Center symposia and conferences as well as reduced prices on the Center's scholarly papers and books. Members may also make use of the Center's library of arms race press coverage.

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*Membership may be tax-deductible for professional purposes.*





## AMERIKA OR BUST

Protests and educational projects will be ongoing through **February** in response to the upcoming ABC television mini-series "Amerika," about a Soviet takeover of the U.S. *Contact* any of the following about:

### Petition drives and letter-writing campaigns:

Equal Time—Jane Brelis Schirmer, PO Box 1462, Madison, WI 53701 (608) 246-0605.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)—Jeff Cohen, 588 West End Ave., Ste. 7C, New York, NY 10024 (212) 475-4640.

Media People for Social Responsibility (Toronto, Canada)—(416) 536-6581.

Fellowship of Reconciliation—Kelly Cannard, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-1601.

### Organizers' packets for local groups:

American Friends Service Committee—Two packets are available, one from the national office (Bruce Birchard, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7000) and another from Mid-Atlantic AFSC, 317 E. 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-7200.

Committee for National Security—1601 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 745-2450. WAND—New Town Branch, PO Box 153, Boston, MA 02258 (617)-543-6740.

These groups can also provide information about viewing parties and other actions in your areas.

### Conferences

"The Psychology of Enemy Images," **January 31** at John Jay College in **New York**. *Contact*: Betty Silverstein, Psychologists for Social Responsibility, (212) 222-8946.

## UN-DERSTANDING

In honor of United Nations International Year of Peace, **Swedish** peace activists initiated The Great Peace Journey, an ongoing worldwide project to speak personally with leaders of U.N. member countries about peace and to ask them five fundamental questions about their willingness to "work in the spirit of the U.N. charter." Endorsed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and others, the five questions involve non-aggressive defense, weapons of mass destruction, arms trade, just distribution of the Earth's resources, and peaceful conflict resolution. Groups received YES answers to all the questions in 21 of 27 countries in Europe; recently met with leaders in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Australia and the Pacific; and approached President Reagan and Secretary-General Gorbachev. In 1987, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will continue the project through congressional lobbying and publicity campaigns. *Contact*: WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

## PERSONALS

Peace and environment-oriented activists having trouble meeting like-minded people can now turn to the Concerned Singles Newsletter, a monthly publication containing self-descriptions of progressives from coast-to-coast. For a free sample of the Newsletter and membership information, *contact*: Concerned Singles, PO Box 7737-Z, Berkeley, CA 94707.

# Calendar

**Significant antinuclear events and projects.**  
**Tell us about March and April events by February 1.**

## FEMA FUROR

The Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) most recent plan calls for protecting state and local officials against radioactive fallout in a nuclear war while encouraging ordinary citizens to help themselves in voluntary evacuation. A number of national antinuclear organizations are mounting campaigns to get local communities, state legislatures, governors and congresspeople to take a stand against this proposal. The Front Line clearinghouse will provide, free of charge, documentation of FEMA's plans, copies of correspondence and news articles, names of active individuals and groups across the country, information on the history of civil defense, and other useful material. *Contact*: The Front Line, PO Box 1793, Santa Fe, NM 87504 (505) 983-5428.

## PEACE FELLOWSHIPS

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP), established by Congress in 1984, has announced a grant-making program for research, education and training, and public information activities. Eligible to apply are non-profit institutions, official public institutions, and individuals, whether or not associated with an institution. For more information and applications, *contact*: USIP, 730 Jackson Pl NW, Washington, DC 20503 (202) 789-5700.

## RESOURCE SERVICE

The Peace Issues Bibliography Service is a computerized, annotated listing of resources for educators and parents. *Contact*: Center for International Cooperation, National College of Education, 2840 Sheridan Rd, Evanston, IL 60201 (312) 256-5150 ext 329.

## CANCEL THE COUNTDOWN

Peace activists across the country will gather at **Cape Canaveral, FL** on **Jan 17** for a demonstration and nonviolent actions to protest the first test of the Trident II nuclear missile. Support actions in other areas of the country, including **Valley Forge, PA**, home of General Electric's Space Division Headquarters, are also planned. For more information, *contact*: Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Ste 418, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

## ELF VISITATION

The Citizens for Alternatives to Trident/ELF are planning acts of nonviolent resistance on **Jan 17**. Project ELF, an extremely low frequency system, is the proposed base of communication for the new fleet of Trident II submarines. Located in **Northern Wisconsin** and **Michigan's** upper peninsula, ELF would be the world's largest one way radio transmitter, able to transform these submarines into first-strike machines. For more information on the protest, *contact*: Tom Hastings, Citizens for Alternatives to Trident/ELF, PO Box 1024, Hayward, WI 54843 (715) 634-3891.

## DISARMAMENT LECTURE

The Riverside Church Disarmament Program in **New York** will hold its Olof Palme Memorial Lecture on Disarmament and Development on **January 21**. Featured speakers will be Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress and Anders Ferm, UN Ambassador to Sweden. Program is free and begins at 7:30 p.m. at the Riverside Church; snow date is January 22. *Contact*: David Schilling, Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900 ext. 238.

## PEACE TEST UPDATE

The American Peace Test (APT) is continuing to organize for a comprehensive test ban. Its next major action will occur on **Jan 27** at the **Nevada Test Site**, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the first nuclear test explosion in Nevada. APT encourages local actions at DOE offices and facilities to coincide with actions at the test site, and asks organizers to contact the Las Vegas APT office with information concerning local activities so that they may be publicized at the national level. In order to facilitate local resistance activity, APT will regularly update information on nuclear tests—call the APT Testing Alert Hotline at (702) 363-7780. For further organizing information, *contact*: APT, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126 (702) 363-7875.

## NATIONAL SECURITY CONFERENCE

The Institute for Peace and International Security will hold a conference, "The New Security: Debate, Challenges, and Strategies for the Peace Movement," to give peace activists and arms control and academic leaders a chance to explore national security issues together. The conference, to be held **January 30-Feb. 1** at Harvard University in **Massachusetts** will feature small group workshops. Scholarships are available. For more information, *contact*: Matthew Goodman, PO Box 2651, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 497-6360.

## HIGH SCHOOL CONSEQUENTIAL

High school students around the country are signing petitions in hopes that their pens are mighty enough to force President Reagan to explain his views on modern day swords. National Forum, a project started by high school students in **Milton, MA**, has begun a petition drive to obtain millions of signatures. They are asking for a televised forum on the nuclear arms race with President Reagan as a participant. The drive will last until the last school day in **January 1987**. For more information and petitions *contact*: the National Forum, c/o Milton Academy, 170 Centre Street, Milton, MA 02186 (617) 698-7800.

## SDI AND SECURITY

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) will hold a symposium, "The

Strategic Defense Initiative: Will it Increase our Security?" on **Feb 7** in **Washington, D.C.** to address the question of security from medical, psychological, economic, research and strategic perspectives. For more information, *contact*: PSR of Greater Washington, 1601 Conn. Av NW, Ste 708, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5760.

## NATIONAL DESIGN COMPETITION

"Give Them Shelter, It's Not for Everyone," is a national design competition for "Bomb Shelters" sponsored by Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR). Registration deadline is **Feb 15** and all entries are due on **April 1**. For more information and registration form, *contact*: ADPSR, Northern California Chapter, 120 Howard St., Ste B-726, San Francisco, CA 94105.

## THE SCIENCE OF STAR WARS

**Feb 22-24** in **Washington, D.C.**, the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) is sponsoring a national conference on the role of scientists and educators in the arms control debate. "Scientists, Educators and the Strategic Defense Initiative" will include workshops on Congress and Arms Control, The Status of SDI, and The Impact of SDI and Defense Research on Campus, among others. Speakers, films and roundtable discussions are also on the agenda. For registration information, *contact*: Lisa Garza, UCS, 26 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

## MIDGETMAN IN YOUR BACKYARD?

The DOD is still deciding where to put the new Midgetman missiles. But fifteen possible sites have been selected, among them Colorado, the Dakotas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Florida. On **February 28**, Western Solidarity will host a regional conference on the Midgetman in **Denver**, where activists from the site states are invited to organize and plan strategy for a joint protest against deploying these bombs in any state. Some travel assistance is available. *Contact*: Patty Bates, Western Solidarity, 2239 East Colfax, Denver, CO (303) 355-5124.

## TAXING BUSINESS

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC) is collecting information on any actions on or near **Tax Day 1987** for use in a national press release and other publicity to protest the use of tax dollars for military spending. Send date, location, type of action, contact name, address and phone by **March 30** to NWTRCC, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772 (516) 286-4767.

## GRASS-ROOTS WHISTLESTOP

Members of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) from **Portland, OR**, have announced plans for a cross-country Citizens Train to Washington, D.C., scheduled to arrive in the nation's capital in **September, 1987**. Participants will make whistlestops along the train route to garner support for a Citizens Budget for National Security. For more information, *contact*: Catherine Glass, WAND Portland, PO Box 10765, Portland, OR 97210 (503) 646-2625.

—Compiled by **Kathy McNulty, Miranda Spencer and Kimberly Thompson.**



# THINKPEACE

## Questions for BRAINSTORMING

Breakthroughs have been made in every science to which people have given much time and effort. We think, therefore, that it is possible to make breakthroughs in a science of peacemaking. To enhance this possibility is the purpose of this section.

Brainstorming is a method of generating ideas for action. Evoking and capturing thoughts which otherwise might not arise, it may hold the key to breakthroughs in the field of peacemaking.

A brainstorming session is usually conducted by several people together, but it can be undertaken by one person alone too. Whether it involves one or several, the following guidelines should be observed.

**I.** Ask yourself questions to evoke creative thinking. (In each issue *Thinkpeace* suggests what we consider vital questions for the peace/disarmament movement; look for them in this section.)

**II.** Build on existing ideas. Seek combinations, embellishments and improvements.

**III.** Think freely; accept even wild ideas. Withhold criticism until later—after the elemental ideas have been generated. In the meantime, record the ideas on a flip chart, sheet of paper, chalkboard, or cassette recorder.

**IV.** Clarify ideas briefly; do not let clarification interrupt the flow of ideas. Try not to break when things are going well.

**V.** Analyze and evaluate.

**VI.** Correct, refine and develop.



### This Issue's Suggested Questions

1. How can the dangers of nuclear war be made to appear more real and less remote to the apparently "apathetic"?
2. How can we reduce the mindless anti-Sovietism now rampant in the US?
3. What can be done—before economic conversion—to persuade military-industrial workers to renounce their employment?
4. How can peacemaking be made to appear more fulfilling and self-gratifying?
5. What new kinds of positive American-Soviet contact can be promoted?

*Thinkpeace* welcomes—no, challenges—you to brainstorm on any or all of the foregoing questions. Also, we ask you to send us the results of your efforts, whether in writing or audio cassette (the writing need not be polished but only represent the course of your thoughts). We will examine whatever you come up with; and what we like we will weave into articles (giving you credit), as a basis for our own brainstorming, or connect with existing ideas.

Will you help us in our quest for better answers? ☐

## Thinkpeace Survey Results

Results of the May/June *Thinkpeace Bimonthly Survey* are as follows.

To questions #1, "Should the many peace/disarmament groups make a serious effort to unite or at least confederate?" 75% of the respondents answered "Yes," 25% "Not sure." With three out of four in favor of a serious effort toward greater coalescence—and with none against—one might well ask what is obstructing a serious effort of this kind.

Question #2 was, "Is shortage of money a crucial problem for the movement?" 50% responded affirmatively, 12% negatively, and 38% were not sure. This is the one point as to which a high percentage differed from most of the *Thinkpeace* staff, who hold that the movement suffers severely from shortage of funds.

94% responded affirmatively, 6% negatively, to question #3, "Are there yet unconceived ideas which could make the movement far stronger?" It is this intellectual optimism (or faith?) that motivates the brainstormer and seems, to me, most fortunate and needed.

62% responded affirmatively, 6% negatively, 32% undecidedly, to question #4, "Does the general public pose greater problems for the the movement than do governments?" This result seems to indicate a healthy drift away from casting politicians as villains, a tendency which has long plagued progressive causes. It might also indicate that activists are ready to focus more on finding better ways of influencing the public. I hope so. It seems clear to me that Reagan did not make this society possible; this society made Reagan possible.

To question #5, "Do you think the many peace/disarmament groups have too many differences to work together effectively?" 12% answered "Yes," 44% "No," and 44% "Not Sure." This response did not heavily contradict that to question #1, as I had thought it might.

Question #6 was, "Do you spend much effort seeking new ideas for better strategies and tactics for peace?" 56% responded affirmatively, 31% negatively, 13% undecidedly. It is interesting that while 94% believe new ideas can make a needed difference, only a little more than half feel they are searching hard for them.

Your answers to the *Thinkpeace Bimonthly Survey* help us to better understand the movement. Please take the little time to respond.

David Martinez

### THINKPEACE NEEDS YOUR SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

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- ☐ \$12 for a year's subscription (USA and Canada only; to cover extra postage, \$15 for UK, Australia and New Zealand).
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